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TRIAL
OF
THOMAS HARDY,
FOR
High Treason,
AT THE
SESSIONS HOUSE IN THE OLD BAILEY,

ON
*Tuesday the Twenty-eighth, Wednesday the Twenty-ninth,
Thursday the Thirtieth, Friday the Thirty-first of October;
and on Saturday the First, Monday the Third, Tuesday the
Fourth, and Wednesday the Fifth of November, 1794.*

VOL. II.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND,
By JOSEPH GURNEY.

LONDON:
SOLD BY MARTHA GURNEY, BOOKSELLER, HOLBORN-HILL,

1795.

F. R. I. A. L.

T. R. I. A. L.

THOMAS HARDY

THOMAS HARDY

1895

SESSIONS HOUSE OF LORDS



VOL. II.

IN SHORT HAND

BY J. H. G. W. M. R.

1702

(4)

TRIAL

OF

THOMAS HARDY

FOR

HIGH TREASON.

*The following Entry was read from one of the Books of the Society
for Constitutional Information :*

“ AT a Meeting of the Society, held at the Crown and
“ Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, July 27, 1792.

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. Choppin, in the chair.

“ Mr. Hull, Mr. Bush, Mr. M. Bush, Mr. Sturch, Mr.
“ Williams, Mr. G. Williams, Capt. Harwood, Mr. Harvey,
“ Mr. Gow, Capt. Perry, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Geddes, Mr.
“ Aspinall, Mr. Gerard, Mr. Littlejohn, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Sutton,
“ Mr. Moore, Mr. John Martin, Lord Sempill.

“ The committee appointed to take Mr. Paine's letter of the
“ 4th instant into consideration, and to consider of the manner in
“ which the society shall communicate to Mr. Paine their deter-
“ mination concerning his offer of 1000l. in trust, to be applied
“ as this society shall think proper, reported that they had
“ met on Monday last, when they came to the following
“ resolutions :

" That it is the opinion of this committee, the offer of Mr. Paine be respectfully declined.

" Resolved, That the following letter be recommended by this committee, to be transmittted by the society to Mr. Paine :

" SIR,

" I am directed by the Society for Constitutional Information, to return you their sincere thanks for the honour you have done them, in requesting them to become trustees of the sum of one thousand pounds, which has been produced by the profits of the sale of the Rights of Man, and leaving it to them to apply it to such purposes as they should judge proper. They have a just sense of the confidence that you have placed in them, and of the generosity and disinterestedness of your offer, but they cannot think that it is an offer they should accept. The eminent services which have been rendered to the public by your invaluable writings, have never yet met with an adequate reward, and they think that it would be an extreme injustice to deprive you of any benefits which might be derived from their sale ; for it is but reasonable, that those who are possessed of literary talents, and who employ them to promote the happiness of the community to which they belong, and to mankind at large, should receive those advantages which may be obtained by their writings, and which may be enjoyed with integrity and honour. But though the society decline the offer which you have been pleased to make them, they cannot do it, without, at the same time, congratulating you upon the consciousness which you must possess of having contributed, by your writings, to the illumination of so many millions of human beings, in this country, America, and in other nations, on subjects of the highest importance to the universal freedom and happiness of mankind.

" I am, with great esteem,

" SIR,

" Your most obedient servant,

" D. A. Secretary."

" To Mr. Thomas Paine."

" Resolved,

" Resolved, That the said letter be signed by the Secretary,
" and sent to Mr. Paine.

" Resolved, that the Secretary wait on Mr. Paine, to be in-
" formed by him, whether it be agreeable to him, that the two
" resolutions of the committee appointed to take Mr. Paine's
" letter of the 4th of July into consideration, together with the
" answer of the society, be published in the papers, and that if
" Mr. Paine does not disapprove its publication, that it be forth-
" with published in different papers.

" Adjourned to the last Friday in September."

Mr. Bower. I shall now call the bookseller who published
Mr. Paine's book.

Jeremiah Samuel Jordan (sworn). Examined by Mr. Bower.

Q. Do you know Mr. Thomas Paine?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know his hand-writing?

A. I think I do.

Q. Look at that letter; do you believe that to be his hand-
writing?

A. To the best of my recollection this is like his writing;
I never saw him write.

Q. Have you corresponded with him?

A. I have received notes from him.

Q. And answered them?

A. No.

Q. How do you know the notes came from him; has he
afterwards told you that they were his notes?

A. Because I delivered things according to his order, there-
fore supposed them to come from him; but I never saw him
write, so as to take particular notice.

Q. Have you ever talked with him about those notes, or of
things that were sent in consequence?

A. I do not know that I have.

Q. Did you publish, at any time, for Mr. Paine, a work,
entitled, "Rights of Man?"

A. I did.

Q. Look at this, and tell us whether that is the book that you published?

A. This is one like them; whether this is one of the same books I cannot tell; here is my name to it, and it is like that which I published.

Q. Do you believe it to be one of the books that you published?

A. I believe it is one of the books that I might publish.

Mr. Erskine. Do you swear to that book, that it is one you published?

A. I cannot swear that it is; there were a great number sold that were not sold by me.

Mr. Bower. Look at it, and see whether it is one of the books you published?

A. It is one of the same as I published for Mr. Paine.

Q. Is it like the book you published?

Mr. Erskine. Is that the book or not? If that is not the book I object to it.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Who printed it?

A. Mr. Chapman printed part of it. Of the first part of the Rights of Man, Mr. Chapman printed the whole. This is the second part.

Mr. Bower. I thought you had been the printer?

A. No, I am only the publisher.

Mr. White. The man is dead that bought it, and I must call a witness to prove his hand-writing. That was proved in a court of justice.

Mr. Bower. I have the record of a conviction, in which Paine was convicted: this witness was examined upon his oath there, and I can prove what he swore then, which I submit will be evidence.

Mr. Erskine. That was the King against Mr. Paine: this is the King against Mr. Hardy.

Mr. Garrow. I think I am entitled, at present, to read this as evidence to go to the Jury; I know it is open to the other side to shew that this is not the Rights of Man, recognized by this society.—We can carry it further.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The rule of evidence requires that you should carry it further.

Mr. Bower. Do you know how far Mr. Chapman printed ?

A. I believe as far as letter H.

Mr. Bower. I will now read the proceedings of the Constitutional Society, at their next meeting, on the 28th of September.

The proceedings were read.

“ At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
“ held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 28th
“ of September, 1792,

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. William Sharp in the Chair ;

“ Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Walfh, Mr. Bonney,
“ Mr. Merry, Mr. Jennings, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Williams,
“ Mr. Sturch, Mr. Moore, Captain Perry, Mr. Rickman,
“ Mr. Geddes, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Gow, Mr. Margarot,
“ Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Balmanno.

“ Read the following letter from the Secretary of the London
“ Corresponding Society.

“ To D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional
“ Information.

“ SIR,

“ The London Corresponding Society having taken the reso-
“ lution of transmitting to the French National Convention,
“ an address, signed by all the members, or by the different
“ delegates (each stating for how many members he signs), to
“ assure that suffering nation, that we sympathise with them in
“ their misfortunes ; that we view their exertions with admi-
“ ration ; that we wish to give them all such countenance and
“ support as individuals, unsupported and oppressed themselves,
“ can afford ; and that should those in power here—dare (in
“ violation of the nation’s pledged faith of neutrality, and in
“ opposition to the well-known sentiments of the people at
“ large) to join the German band of despots, united against
“ liberty, we disclaim all concurrence therein ; and will, to a
“ man, exert every justifiable means for counteracting their

" machinations against the freedom and the happiness of
" mankind.

" I am ordered by the committee to acquaint the Society for
" Constitutional Information therewith, in order to be favoured
" with their opinion thereon, and in hopes that, if they approve
" the idea, and recommend its adoption to the different Societies,
" the publication of such a respectable number of real names
" will greatly check the hostile measures which might otherwise
" be put in execution.

" I am, with great respect,

" Dear Sir,

" Your very humble servant,

(Signed) " *THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.*"

" *London, Sept. 21, 1792,*

" *No. 9, Piccadilly, near the top of the Haymarket.*"

" Resolved, That the Secretary express the thanks of the
" society to the London Corresponding Society, for their com-
" munication, and acquaint them this society do very highly
" approve of their intention.

" Ordered, That the said letter be read at the next Meeting,
" for the purpose of considering of publishing the same.

" Read a letter from the London Corresponding Society, in-
" closing a printed Address to the Inhabitants of Great-
" Britain."

Mr. Bower. There is in the Meeting of the 5th, a con-
firmation of these minutes.

Mr. Garrow. I shall now produce a copy of one of the cheap
editions of Paine's Rights of Man, and Mr. Paine's Letter to the
People of France, both found in possession of the prisoner.

Mr. Edward Lauzan again called.

Mr. Garrow. Is that one of the papers you found at the
prisoner's house?

A. Yes; there is my name to it.

Q. Did you find the other there?

A. Yes.

Mr. Erskine.

Mr. Erskine. Is your Lordship of opinion that any printed book which is found in the possession of the prisoner is to be read.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. It is evidence to be left to the Jury.

Mr. Garrow. We do not interrupt the course of proceedings by reading the passages out of Paine's book; at present we will go on with other evidence.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. When are we to take up that? If we are ever to have it, we may as well have it now.

Mr. Garrow. Then we will read Mr. Paine's Letter to the people of France.

It was read.

LETTER of THOMAS PAINE, to the *PEOPLE* of
FRANCE.

Published and distributed Gratis by the *London Corresponding Society.*

" Paris, September 25.

" (First Year of the Republic.)

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

*" I receive, with affectionate gratitude, the honour which the
" late National Assembly has conferred upon me, by adopting
" me a Citizen of France; and the additional honour of being
" elected by my Fellow-Citizens a Member of the National
" Convention. Happily impressed, as I am, by those testimonies
" of respect shewn towards me as an individual, I feel my felicity
" encreased by seeing the barrier broken down that divided Pa-
" triotism by spots of earth, and limited Citizenship to the soil,
" like vegetation.*

*" Had those honours been conferred in an hour of national
" tranquillity, they would have afforded no other means of
" shewing my affection, than to have accepted and enjoyed
" them; but they come accompanied with circumstances that
" give me the honourable opportunity of commencing my Citi-
" zenship in the stormy hour of difficulties. I come not to
" enjoy*

“ enjoy repose. Convinced that the cause of France is the cause
 “ of all mankind, and that as liberty cannot be purchased by a
 “ wish, I gladly share with you the dangers and honours neces-
 “ sary to success.

“ I am well aware that the moment of any great change
 “ such as that accomplished on the 10th of August, is una-
 “ voidably the moment of terror and confusion. The mind,
 “ highly agitated by hope, suspicion, and apprehension, continues
 “ without rest till the change be accomplished. But let us now
 “ look calmly and confidentially forward, and success is certain.
 “ It is no longer the paltry cause of Kings, or of this, or of that
 “ individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It
 “ is the great cause of ALL. It is the establishment of a new
 “ æra, that shall blot Despotism from the earth, and fix, on the
 “ lasting principles of Peace and Citizenship, the great Republic
 “ of Man.

“ It has been my fate to have borne a share in the com-
 “ mencement and complete establishment of one Revolution (I
 “ mean the Revolution of America). The success and events
 “ of that Revolution are encouraging to us. The prosperity
 “ and happiness that have since flowed to that country, have
 “ amply rewarded her for all the hardships she endured, and
 “ for all the dangers she encountered.

“ The principles on which that Revolution began, have ex-
 “ tended themselves to Europe; and an over-ruling Providence
 “ is regenerating the Old World by the principles of the New.
 “ The distance of America from all the other parts of the
 “ globe, did not admit of her carrying those principles beyond
 “ her own situation. It is to the peculiar honour of France,
 “ that she now raises the standard of Liberty for all nations;
 “ and in fighting her own battles, contends for the rights of
 “ all mankind.

“ The same spirit of fortitude that insured success to Ame-
 “ rica, will insure it to France; for it is impossible to conquer
 “ a nation determined to be free! The military circumstances
 “ that now unite themselves to France, are such as the Des-
 “ pots of the earth know nothing of, and can form no calcu-
 “ lation

“ lation upon. They know not what it is to fight against a
 “ nation. They have only been accustomed to make war
 “ upon each other, and they know from system and practice,
 “ how to calculate the probable success of despot against des-
 “ pot; and here their knowledge and their experience end.

“ But in a contest like the present, a new and boundless
 “ variety of circumstances arises, that deranges all such cus-
 “ tomary calculations. When a whole nation acts as an army,
 “ the despot knows not the extent of the power against which
 “ he contends. New armies rise against him with the neces-
 “ sity of the moment. It is then that the difficulties of an
 “ invading enemy multiply, as in the former case they dimi-
 “ nished; and he finds them at their height when he expected
 “ them to end.

“ The only war that has any similarity of circumstances
 “ with the present, is the late Revolution-war in America.
 “ On her part, as it now is in France, it was a war of the
 “ whole nation.—There it was that the enemy, by beginning
 “ to conquer, put himself in a condition of being conquered.
 “ His first victories prepared him for defeat. He advanced
 “ till he could not retreat, and found himself in the midst of
 “ a nation of armies.

“ Were it now to be proposed to the Austrians and Prus-
 “ sians to escort them into the middle of France, and there
 “ leave them to make the most of such a situation, they would
 “ see too much into the dangers of it to accept the offer, and
 “ the same dangers would attend them could they arrive there
 “ by any other means. Where then is the military policy of
 “ their attempting to obtain by force, that which they would
 “ refuse by choice. But to reason with despots is throwing
 “ reason away. The best of arguments is a vigorous prepa-
 “ ration.

“ Man is ever a stranger to the ways by which Providence
 “ regulates the order of things. The interference of foreign
 “ Despots may serve to introduce into their own enslaved
 “ countries the principles they come to oppose. Liberty and
 “ Equality

" Equality are blessings too great to be the inheritance of
 " France alone. It is honour to her to be their first cham-
 " pion; and she may now say to her enemies, with a mighty
 " voice, " O ! ye Austrians, ye Prussians ! ye who now turn
 " your bayonets against us ; it is for all Europe ; it is for all
 " mankind, and not for France alone, that she raises the standard
 " of Liberty and Equality ! "

" The public cause has hitherto suffered from the contradic-
 " tions contained in the Constitution of the former Constituent
 " Assembly. Those contradictions have served to divide the
 " opinions of individuals at home, and to obscure the great
 " principles of the Revolution in other countries. But when
 " those contradictions shall be removed, and the Constitution
 " be made conformable to the Declaration of Rights ; when
 " the bagatelles of monarchy, royalty, regency, and hereditary
 " succession, shall be exposed, with all their absurdities, a new
 " ray of light will be thrown over the world, and the Revo-
 " lution will derive new strength by being universally under-
 " stood.

" The scene that now opens itself to France extends far
 " beyond the boundaries of her own dominions. Every Na-
 " tion is becoming her colleague, and every Court is become
 " her enemy. It is now the cause of all nations against the
 " cause of all Courts. The terror that despotism felt, clan-
 " destinely begot a confederation of Despots ; and their attack
 " upon France was produced by their fears at home.

" In entering on this great scene, greater than any nation
 " has yet been called to act in, let us say to the agitated
 " mind, be calm. Let us punish by instructing, rather than
 " by revenge. Let us begin the new æra by a greatness of
 " friendship, and hail the approach of union and success.

" Your Fellow Citizen,

" THOMAS PAINE."

Thomas

Thomas Chapman (Sworn);

Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. What are you by business?

A. A bookseller.

Q. Was you acquainted with Mr. Thomas Paine?

A. I was.

Q. Did you at any time print any book for him?

A. I did.

Q. What was it?

A. A work entitled Rights of Man.

Q. Did you print one or two parts of that work?

A. I printed the first part and part of the second.

Q. Was it at the earlier part of the second part as you call it, or the latter part?

A. The earlier part.

Q. You did not finish it?

A. I did not.

Q. Look at these two books, and tell me whether you believe these to be copies printed by you?

A. I printed the first part entirely.

Q. How far did you proceed in printing the second part?

A. I think I printed as far as letter K, that is, I finished what we call the letter or signature of sheet I, which includes the 128th page; the larger edition, I had the copy of almost the whole of the remaining part, and my people had composed it, or set it up in the type, but I did not conclude it.

Q. What did you do with that part you did not finish?

A. Returned it into the hands of Mr. Paine by a servant of mine.

Q. After the book was completed, did you ever converse with Mr. Paine about it?

A. I do not think I saw Mr. Paine upon the business after the work was quite finished.

(The

*(The following passages were read from the first part of the
"Rights of Man.")*

(Page 57, 8vo. and Page 24, 12mo. editions.)

"Can then Mr. Burke produce the English Constitution? If
"he cannot, we may fairly conclude, that though it has been so
"much talked about, no such thing as a constitution exists, or
"ever did exist, and consequently that the people have yet a
"constitution to form."

(Page 59, 8vo. and Page 25, 12mo. editions.)

"A government on the principles on which constitutional
"governments arising out of society are established, cannot have
"the right of altering itself. If it had, it would be arbitrary.
"It might make itself what it pleased; and wherever such a right
"is set up, it shews there is no constitution. The act by which
"the English Parliament empowered itself to sit seven years,
"shews there is no constitution in England. It might, by the
"same self-authority, have sat any greater number of years, or
"for life. The Bill which the present Mr. Pitt brought into
"parliament some years ago, to reform parliament, was on the
"same erroneous principle. The right of reform is in the
"nation in its original character, and the constitutional me-
"thod would be by a general convention elected for the pur-
"pose. There is, moreover, a paradox in the idea of vitiated
"bodies reforming themselves."

(Page 63, 8vo. and 27, 12mo. editions.)

"Much is to be learned from the French constitution,
"Conquest and tyranny transplanted themselves with William
"the Conqueror from Normandy into England, and the coun-
"try is yet disfigured with the marks. May then the exam-
"ple of all France contribute to regenerate the freedom which
"a province of it destroyed!"

(Page.

(Page 161, 8vo. and page 74, 12mo. editions.)

" The two modes of Government which prevail in the
 " world, are, *first*, Government by election and representation:
 " *Secondly*, Government by hereditary succession. The former
 " is generally known by the name of republic; the latter by
 " that of monarchy and aristocracy.

" Those two distinct and opposite forms, erect themselves
 " on the two distinct and opposite bases of Reason and Ignorance.—As the exercise of Government requires talents and
 " abilities, and as talents and abilities cannot have hereditary
 " descent, it is evident that hereditary succession requires a belief
 " from man, to which his reason cannot subscribe, and which
 " can only be established upon his ignorance; and the more
 " ignorant any country is, the better it is fitted for this species
 " of Government."

(Page 165, 8vo. and Page 76, 12mo. editions.)

" From the Revolutions of America and France, and the
 " symptoms that have appeared in other countries, it is evident
 " that the opinion of the world is changed with respect to systems
 " of Government, and that revolutions are not within the compass
 " of political calculations. The progress of time and circum-
 " stances, which men assign to the accomplishment of great
 " changes, is too mechanical to measure the force of the mind,
 " and the rapidity of reflection, by which revolutions are
 " generated: All the old governments have received a shock
 " from those that already appear, and which were once more im-
 " probable, and are a greater subject of wonder, than a general
 " revolution in Europe would be now.

" When we survey the wretched condition of man under the
 " monarchical and hereditary systems of government, dragged from
 " his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoverished
 " by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that those
 " systems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle
 " and construction of Governments is necessary.

" What

" What is government more than the management of the
 " affairs of a Nation? It is not, and from its nature cannot be,
 " the property of any particular man or family, but of the whole
 " community, at whose expence it is supported; and though by
 " force or contrivance it has been usurped into an inheritance,
 " the usurpation cannot alter the right of things. Sovereignty,
 " as a matter of right, appertains to the Nation only, and not to
 " any individual; and a Nation has at all times an inherent in-
 " defeasible right to abolish any form of Government it finds in-
 " convenient, and establish such as accords with its interest,
 " disposition, and happiness. The romantic and barbarous
 " distinction of men into Kings and subjects, though it may suit
 " the condition of courtiers, cannot that of citizens; and is ex-
 " ploded by the principle upon which Governments are now
 " founded. Every citizen is a member of the sovereignty, and,
 " as such, can acknowledge no personal subjection; and his
 " obedience can be only to the laws.

" When men think of what Government is, they must neces-
 " sarily suppose it to possess a knowledge of all the objects and
 " matters upon which its authority is to be exercised. In this
 " view of Government, the republican system, as established by
 " America and France, operates to embrace the whole of a
 " Nation; and the knowledge necessary to the interest of all the
 " parts, is to be found in the centre, which the parts by repre-
 " sentation form: But the old Governments are on a con-
 " struction that excludes knowledge as well as happiness; Go-
 " vernment by Monks, who know nothing of the world beyond
 " the walls of a Convent, is as consistent as government by
 " Kings.

" What were formerly called Revolutions, were little more
 " than a change of persons, or an alteration of local circumstances.
 " They rose and fell like things of course, and had nothing in
 " their existence or their fate that could influence beyond the
 " spot that produced them. But what we now see in the world,
 " from the Revolutions of America and France, is a renovation
 " of the natural order of things, a system of principles as universal
 " as

" as truth and the existence of man, and combining moral with
 " political happiness and national prosperity.

" I. Men are born and always continue free, and equal in
 " respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be
 " founded only on public utility.

" II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of
 " the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights
 " are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

" III. The Nation is essentially the source of all Sovereignty;
 " nor can any INDIVIDUAL, or ANY BODY OF MEN, be entitled
 " to any authority which is not expressly derived from it."

(Page 171, 8vo. and Page 78, 12mo. editions.)

" As it is not difficult to perceive, from the enlightened state
 " of mankind, that hereditary Governments are verging to their
 " decline, and that Revolutions on the broad basis of national
 " sovereignty, and Government by representation, are making
 " their way in Europe, it would be an act of wisdom to anti-
 " cipate their approach, and produce Revolutions by reason and
 " accommodation, rather than commit them to the issue of con-
 " vulsions.

" From what we now see, nothing of reform in the political
 " world ought to be held improbable. It is an age of Revo-
 " lutions, in which every thing may be looked for. The intrigue
 " of Courts, by which the system of war is kept up, may provoke
 " a confederation of Nations to abolish it: and an European
 " Congress, to patronize the progress of free Government, and
 " promote the civilization of Nations with each other, is an
 " event nearer in probability, than once were the revolutions and
 " alliance of France and America."

(The following Passages were read from the Second Parts of the
 " Rights of Man.")

(Page 21, 8vo. edition.)

" All hereditary government is, in its nature, tyranny.—An
 " heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other
 " fanciful name such things may be called, have no other signi-

"fancie explanation than that mankind are heritable property."
 "To inherit a government is to inherit the people, as if they"
 "were flocks and herds."

(Page 27, 8vo. edition.)

"How irrational then is the hereditary system, which establishes
 "channels of power, in company with which wisdom refuses to
 "flow.—By continuing this absurdity, man is perpetually in
 "contradiction with himself; he accepts, for a King, or a Chief
 "Magistrate, or a Legislator, a person whom he would not elect
 "for a Constable."

(Page 47, 8vo. edition.)

"This Convention met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, of
 "which General Washington was elected President. He was
 "not, at that time, connected with any of the State Govern-
 "ments, or with Congress. He delivered up his commission
 "when the war ended, and since then had lived a private
 "Citizen."

"The Convention went deeply into all the subjects; and
 "having, after a variety of debate and investigation, agreed
 "among themselves upon the several parts of a Federal Con-
 "stitution, the next question was, the manner of giving it au-
 "thority and practice."

"For this purpose they did not, like a cabal of Courtiers, send
 "for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a German Elector; but they
 "referred the whole matter to the sense and interest of the
 "country."

"They first directed, that the proposed Constitution should be
 "published. Secondly, that each state should elect a Convention,
 "expressly for the purpose of taking it into consideration, and
 "of ratifying or rejecting it; and that as soon as the approbation
 "and ratification of any nine states should be given, that those
 "states should proceed to the election of their proportion of
 "Members to the New Federal Government, and that the
 "operation of it should then begin, and the former Federal
 "Government cease."

(Page

(Page 52, 8vo. edition.)

" The history of the Edwards and the Henries, and up to the
 " commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many instances of
 " tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation
 " had restricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to pass those
 " limits, and their fate is well known. In all those instances,
 " we see nothing of a Constitution, but only of restrictions, or
 " assumed power.

" After this another William, descended from the same stock,
 " and claiming from the same origin, gained possession; and, of
 " the two evils, James and William, the nation preferred what
 " it thought the least; since, from circumstances, it must take
 " one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into
 " view. What is it but a bargain, which the parts of the
 " Government made with each other, to divide powers, profits,
 " and privileges: you shall have so much, and I will have the
 " rest; and, with respect to the nation, it said, for *your share*,
 " *YOU shall have the right of petitioning*. This being the case,
 " the Bill of Rights is, more properly, a bill of wrongs, and of
 " insult. As to what is called the Convention Parliament, it
 " was a thing that made itself, and then made the authority by
 " which it acted. A few persons got together, and called them-
 " selves by that name. Several of them had never been elected,
 " and none of them for the purpose.

" From the time of William a species of Government arose,
 " issuing out of this Coalition Bill of Rights; and more so,
 " since the corruption introduced at the Hanover Succession,
 " by the agency of Walpole; that can be described by no other
 " name than a Despotic Legislation. Though the parts may
 " embarrass each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only
 " right it acknowledges, out of itself, is the right of petitioning.
 " Where then is the Constitution, either that gives, or that re-
 " strains power?

" It is not because a part of the Government is elective, that
 " makes it less a despotism, if the persons so elected possess after-
 " wards, as a Parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this

" case, becomes separated from representation, and the candidates
 " are candidates for despotism.

" I cannot believe that any nation, reasoning on its own
 " rights, would have thought of calling those things a *Con-*
 " *stitution*, if the cry of Constitution had not been set up by
 " the Government."

(Page 63, 8vo. edition—a Note.)

" * With respect to the Two Houses of which the English
 " Parliament is composed, they appear to be effectually in-
 " fluenced into one; and, as a Legislature, to have no temper
 " of its own. The Minister, whoever he at any time may be,
 " touches it as with an opium wand, and it sleeps obedience."

" But if we look at the distinct abilities of the Two Houses,
 " the difference will appear so great, as to shew the inconsistency
 " of placing power where there can be no certainty of the judg-
 " ment to use it. Wretched as the state of representation is in
 " England, it is manhood compared with what is called the
 " House of Lords; and so little is this nick-named House
 " regarded, that the people scarcely inquire, at any time, what it
 " is doing. It appears also to be most under influence, and
 " the furthest removed from the general interest of the nation.
 " In the debate on engaging in the Russian and Turkish war,
 " the majority in the House of Peers, in favour of it, was up-
 " wards of ninety; when in the other House, which is more
 " than double its numbers, the majority was sixty-three."

(Page 65, 8vo. edition.)

" But in whatever manner the separate parts of a Constitution
 " may be arranged, there is *one* general principle that distinguishes
 " Freedom from Slavery, which is, that all *hereditary Govern-*
 " *ment over a people is to them a species of Slavery, and represen-*
 " *tative Government is Freedom.*"

(Page 107, 8vo. edition.)

" Having thus glanced at some of the defects of the Two
 " Houses of Parliament, I proceed to what is called the Crown,
 " upon which I shall be very concise."

" It

“ It signifies a nominal office of a million sterling a year,
 “ the business of which consists in receiving the money.—
 “ Whether the person be wise or foolish, sane or insane, a native
 “ or a foreigner, matters not. Every Ministry acts upon the
 “ same idea that Mr. Burke writes; namely, that the people
 “ must be hood-winked, and held in superstitious ignorance by
 “ some bugbear or other; and what is called the Crown answers
 “ this purpose, and therefore it answers all the purposes to be
 “ expected from it. This is more than can be said of the other
 “ two branches.”

Mr. Erskine. I desire the preface to be read.

Mr. Attorney-General. Read the dedication first, and then the preface.

Mr. Erskine. You may read the whole book, if you please.

The Dedication and Preface read.

“ To M. DE LA FAYETTE.

“ After an acquaintance of nearly fifteen years, in difficult
 “ situations in America, and various consultations in Europe, I
 “ feel a pleasure in presenting to you this small treatise, in grati-
 “ tude for your services to my beloved America, and as a testi-
 “ mony of my esteem for the virtues, public and private, which
 “ I know you to possess.

“ The only point upon which I could ever discover that we
 “ differed, was not as to principles of government, but as to
 “ time. For my own part, I think it equally as injurious to
 “ good principles to permit them to linger, as to push them on
 “ too fast. That which you suppose accomplishable in fourteen
 “ or fifteen years, I may believe practicable in a much shorter
 “ period. Mankind, as it appears to me, are always ripe enough
 “ to understand their true interest, provided it be presented clearly
 “ to their understanding, and that in a manner not to create suspi-
 “ cion by any thing like self-design, nor offend by assuming too
 “ much. Where we would wish to reform we must not re-
 “ proach.

“ When the American revolution was established, I felt a dis-
 “ position to sit serenely down and enjoy the calm. It did not

" appear to me that any object could afterwards arise great
 " enough to make me quit tranquillity, and feel as I had felt be-
 " fore. But when principle, and not place, is the energetic cause
 " of action, a man, I find, is every where the same.

" I am now once more in the public world ; and as I have not
 " a right to contemplate on so many years of remaining life as
 " you have, I am resolved to labour as fast as I can ; and as I am
 " anxious for your aid and your company, I wish you to hasten
 " your principles and overtake me.

" If you make a campaign the ensuing spring, which it is most
 " probable there will be no occasion for, I will come and join
 " you. Should the campaign commence, I hope it will termi-
 " nate in the extinction of German despotism, and in establish-
 " ing the freedom of all Germany. When France shall be sur-
 " rounded with revolutions, she will be in peace and safety, and
 " her taxes, as well as those of Germany, will consequently be-
 " come less.

" Your sincere,

" Affectionate Friend,

" THOMAS PAINE."

" London, Feb. 9, 1792."

" P R E F A C E.

" When I began the chapter entitled the "*Conclusion*" in the
 " former part of the RIGHTS OF MAN, published last year,
 " it was my intention to have extended it to a greater length ;
 " but in casting the whole matter in my mind which I wished to
 " add, I found that I must either make the work too bulky, or
 " contract my plan too much. I therefore brought it to a close
 " as soon as the subject would admit, and reserved what I had
 " further to say to another opportunity.

" Several other reasons contributed to produce this determi-
 " nation. I wished to know the manner in which a work, writ-
 " ten in a style of thinking and expression different to what had
 " been customary in England, would be received before I ven-
 " tured farther. A great field was opening to the view of man-

" kind

“ kind by means of the French Revolution. Mr. Burke’s
 “ outrageous opposition thereto brought the controversy into
 “ England. He attacked principles which he knew (from infor-
 “ mation) I would contest with him, because they are principles
 “ I believe to be good, and which I have contributed to establish,
 “ and conceive myself bound to defend. Had he not urged the
 “ controversy, I had most probably been a silent man.

“ Another reason for deferring the remainder of the work
 “ was, that Mr. Burke promised in his first publication to renew
 “ the subject at another opportunity, and to make a comparison
 “ of what he called the English and French constitutions. I
 “ therefore held myself in reserve for him. He has published
 “ two works since, without doing this; which he certainly
 “ would not have omitted, had the comparison been in his fa-
 “ vour.

“ In his last work, “ *His appeal from the new to the old*
 “ *Whigs*,” he has quoted about ten pages from the *Rights of*
 “ *Man*, and having given himself the trouble of doing this, says,
 “ he shall not attempt in the smallest degree to refute them,”
 “ meaning the principles therein contained. I am enough ac-
 “ quainted with Mr. Burke to know, that he would if he could.
 “ But instead of contesting them, he immediately after consoles
 “ himself with saying, that “ he has done his part.”—He has
 “ not done his part. He has not performed his promise of a
 “ comparison of constitutions. He started the controversy, he
 “ gave the challenge, and has fled from it; and he is now a *case*
 “ *in point* with his own opinion, that, “ *the age of chivalry is*
 “ *gone!*”

“ The title, as well as the substance of his last work, his
 “ *Appeal*,” is his condemnation. Principles must stand on their
 “ own merits, and if they are good they certainly will. To
 “ put them under the shelter of other men’s authority, as
 “ Mr. Burke has done, serves to bring them into suspicion.
 “ Mr. Burke is not very fond of dividing his honours, but
 “ in this case he is artfully dividing the disgrace. But who are
 “ those to whom Mr. Burke has made his appeal? A set of
 “ childish thinkers and half-way politicians born in the last

“ century; men who went no farther with any principle than as
 “ it suited their purpose as a party; the nation was always left
 “ out of the question; and this has been the character of every
 “ party from that day to this. The nation sees nothing in such
 “ works, or such politics worthy its attention. A little matter
 “ will move a party, but it must be something great that moves
 “ a nation.

“ Though I see nothing in Mr. Burke’s Appeal worth taking
 “ much notice of, there is, however, one expression upon which
 “ I shall offer a few remarks.—After quoting largely from the
 “ *Rights of Man*, and declining to contest the principles con-
 “ tained in that work, he says, “ This will most probably be
 “ done (*if such writings shall be thought to deserve any other re-*
 “ *putation than that of criminal justice*) by others, who may
 “ think with Mr. Burke and with the same zeal.”

“ In the first place, it has not yet been done by any body.
 “ Not less, I believe, than eight or ten pamphlets intended as
 “ answers to the former part of the “ *Rights of Man*” have been
 “ published by different persons, and not one of them, to my
 “ knowledge, has extended to a second edition, nor are even the
 “ titles of them so much as generally remembered. As I am
 “ averse to unnecessarily multiplying publications, I have an-
 “ swered none of them. And as I believe that a man may
 “ write himself out of reputation when no body else can do
 “ it, I am careful to avoid that rock.

“ But as I would decline unnecessary publications on the
 “ one hand, so would I avoid every thing that might appear
 “ like fullen pride on the other. If Mr. Burke, or any person
 “ on his side the question, will produce an answer to the
 “ *Rights of Man*,” that shall extend to an half, or even to
 “ a fourth part of the number of copies to which the *Rights*
 “ of *Man* extended, I will reply to his work. But until this
 “ be done, I shall so far take the sense of the public for my
 “ guide (and the world knows I am not a flatterer) that
 “ what they do not think worth while to read, is not worth
 “ mine to answer. I suppose the number of copies to which
 “ the first part of the *Rights of Man* extended, taking Eng-
 “ land,

"land, Scotland, and Ireland, is not less than between forty and fifty thousand.

"I now come to remark on the remaining part of the quotation I have made from Mr. Burke.

"If," says he, "such writings shall be thought to deserve any other refutation than that of *criminal justice*."

"Pardoning the pun, it must be *criminal justice* indeed that should condemn a work as a substitute for not being able to refute it. The greatest condemnation that could be passed upon it would be a refutation. But in proceeding by the method Mr. Burke alludes to, the condemnation would, in the final event, pass upon the criminality of the process and not upon the work, and in this case, I had rather be the author, than be either the judge, or the jury, that should condemn it.

"But to come at once to the point. I have differed from some professional gentlemen on the subject of prosecutions, and I since find they are falling into my opinion, which I will here state as fully, but as concisely as I can.

"I will first put a case with respect to any law, and then compare it with a government, or with what in England is, or has been, called a constitution.

"It would be an act of despotism, or what in England is called arbitrary power, to make a law to prohibit investigating the principles, good or bad, on which such a law, or any other is founded.

"If a law be bad, it is one thing to oppose the practice of it, but it is quite a different thing to expose its errors, to reason on its defects, and to shew cause why it should be repealed, or why another ought to be substituted in its place. I have always held it an opinion (making it also my practice) that it is better to obey a bad law, making use at the same time of every argument to shew its errors and procure its repeal, than forcibly to violate it; because the precedent of breaking a bad law might weaken the force, and lead to a discretionary violation, of those which are good.

"The

“ The case is the same with respect to principles and forms
 “ of government, or to what are called constitutions and the
 “ parts of which they are composed.

“ It is for the good of nations, and not for the emolument
 “ or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that government
 “ ought to be established, and that mankind are at the expence
 “ of supporting it. The defects of every government and
 “ constitution, both as to principle and form must, on a parity
 “ of reasoning, be as open to discussion as the defects of a
 “ law, and it is a duty which every man owes to society to
 “ point them out. When those defects, and the means of
 “ remedying them are generally seen by a nation, that nation
 “ will reform its government or its constitution in the one
 “ case, as the government repealed or reformed the law in the
 “ other. The operation of government is restricted to the
 “ making and the administering of laws; but it is to a nation
 “ that the right of forming or reforming, generating or rege-
 “ nerating constitutions and governments belong; and conse-
 “ quently those subjects, as subjects of investigation, are always
 “ before a country *as a matter of right*, and cannot, without
 “ invading the general rights of that country, be made subjects
 “ for prosecution. On this ground I will meet Mr. Burke
 “ whenever he please. It is better that the whole argument
 “ should come out, than to seek to stifle it. It was himself
 “ that opened the controversy, and he ought not to desert it.

“ I do not believe that monarchy and aristocracy will con-
 “ tinue seven years longer in any of the enlightened countries
 “ in Europe. If better reasons can be shewn for them than
 “ against them, they will stand; if the contrary, they will not.
 “ Mankind are not now to be told they shall not think, or
 “ they shall not read; and publications that go no farther than
 “ to investigate principles of government, to invite men to
 “ reason and to reflect, and to shew the errors and excellen-
 “ cies of different systems, have a right to appear. If they
 “ do not excite attention, they are not worth the trouble of
 “ a prosecution; and if they do, the prosecution will amount
 “ to nothing, since it cannot amount to a prohibition of read-
 “ ing.

ing. This would be a sentence on the public, instead of the author, and would also be the most effectual mode of making or hastening revolutions.

" On all cases that apply universally to a nation, with respect to systems of government, a jury of *twelve* men is not competent to decide. Where there are no witnesses to be examined, no facts to be proved, and where the whole matter is before the whole public, and the merits or demerits of it resting on their opinion; and where there is nothing to be known in a court, but what every body knows out of it, every twelve men is equally as good a jury as the other, and would most probably reverse each other's verdict; or from the variety of their opinions, not be able to form one. It is one case, whether a nation approve a work, or a plan; but is quite another case, whether it will commit to any such jury the power of determining whether that nation have a right to, or shall reform its government, or not. I mention those cases, that Mr. Burke may see I have not written on Government without reflecting on what is Law, as well as on what are Rights.—The only effectual jury in such cases would be, a convention of the whole nation fairly elected; for in all such cases the whole nation is the vicinage. If Mr. Burke will propose such a jury, I will wave all privileges of being the citizen of another country, and, defending its principles, abide the issue, provided he will do the same; for my opinion is, that his work and his principles would be condemned instead of mine.

" As to the prejudices ~~which men~~ have from education and habit, in favour of any particular form or system of government, those prejudices have yet to stand the test of reason and reflection. In fact, such prejudices are nothing. No man is prejudiced in favour of a thing, knowing it to be wrong. He is attached to it on the belief of its being right; and when he sees it is not so, the prejudice will be gone. We have but a defective idea of what prejudice is. It might be said, that until men think for themselves the whole is prejudice, and *not opinion*; for that only is opinion which is the
" result

" result of reason and reflection. I offer this remark, that Mr.
 " Burke may not confide too much in what has been the cus-
 " tomary prejudices of the country.

" I do not believe that the people of England have ever been
 " fairly and candidly dealt by. They have been imposed upon
 " by parties, and by men assuming the character of leaders.
 " It is time that the nation should rise above those trifles. It
 " is time to dismiss that inattention which has so long been
 " the encouraging cause of stretching taxation to excess. It
 " is time to dismiss all those songs and toasts which are cal-
 " culated to enslave, and operate to suffocate reflection. On
 " all such subjects men have but to think, and they will nei-
 " ther act wrong nor be misled. To say that any people are
 " not fit for freedom, is to make poverty their choice, and to
 " say they had rather be loaded with taxes than not. If such
 " a case could be proved, it would equally prove, that those
 " who govern are not fit to govern them, for they are a part
 " of the same national mass.

" But admitting governments to be changed all over Europe ;
 " it certainly may be done without convulsion or revenge. It is
 " not worth making changes or revolutions, unless it be for
 " some great national benefit ; and when this shall appear to a
 " nation, the danger will be, as in America and France, to
 " those who oppose ; and with this reflection I close my
 " Preface.

" THOMAS PAINE.

" *London, Feb. 9, 1792.*"

Mr. Garrow. I had dismissed this book, but the reading of the
 preface has reminded me of some passages I had overlooked.

The following passages were read.

(Page 161, 8vo. edition.)

" The fraud hypocrisy, and imposition of governments are
 " now beginning to be too well understood to promise them any
 " long career. The farce of monarchy and aristocracy, in all
 " countries

" countries is following that of chivalry, and Mr. Burke is dress-
 " ing for the funeral. Let it then pass quietly to the tomb of all
 " other follies and the mourners be comforted.

" The time is not very distant when England will laugh at
 " itself for sending to Holland, Hanover, Zell, or Brunswick
 " for men, at the expence of a million a year, who understood
 " neither her laws, her language, nor her interest, and whose
 " capacities would scarcely have fitted them for the office of a
 " parish constable. If government could be trusted to such
 " hands, it must be some easy and simple thing indeed, and ma-
 " terials fit for all the purposes may be found in every town and
 " village in England."

(Page 161, 8vo. edition.)

" Within the space of a few years we have seen two Revolu-
 " tions, those of America and France. In the former, the con-
 " test was long, and the conflict severe; in the latter, the nation
 " acted with such a consolidated impulse, that having no foreign
 " enemy to contend with, the revolution was complete in power
 " the moment it appeared. From both those instances it is evi-
 " dent, that the greatest forces that can be brought into the field
 " of revolutions, are reason and common interest. Where these
 " can have the opportunity of acting, opposition dies with fear,
 " or crumbles away by conviction. It is a great standing which
 " they have now universally obtained; and we may hereafter hope
 " to see revolutions, or changes in governments, produced with
 " the same quiet operation by which any measure, determinable
 " by reason and discussion, is accomplished.

" When a nation changes its opinion and habits of thinking,
 " it is no longer to be governed as before; but it would not
 " only be wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what
 " ought to be accomplished by reason. Rebellion consists in
 " forcibly opposing the general will of a nation whether by a
 " party or by a government. There ought, therefore, to be in
 " every nation a method of occasionally ascertaining the state of
 " public opinion with respect to government. On this point
 " the old government of France was superior to the present go-
 " vernment.

"vernment of England, because, on extraordinary occasions,
 "recourse could be had to what was then called the States-Ge-
 "neral. But in England there are no such occasional bodies;
 "and as to those who are now called Representatives, a great
 "part of them are mere machines of the court, placemen, and
 "dependants."

(Page 170, 8vo. edition—a note.)

"I know it is the opinion of many of the most enlightened
 "characters in France, (there always will be those who see far-
 "ther into events than others) not only among the general mass
 "of citizens, but of many of the principal members of the for-
 "mer National Assembly, that the monarchical plan will not con-
 "tinue many years in that country. They have found out, that
 "as wisdom cannot be made hereditary, power ought not; and
 "that, for a man to merit a million sterling a year from a na-
 "tion, he ought to have a mind capable of comprehending from
 "an atom to a universe; which, if he had, he would be above
 "receiving the pay. But they wished not to appear to lead the
 "nation faster than its own reason and interest dictated. In all
 "the conversations where I have been present upon this subject,
 "the idea always was, that when such a time, from the general
 "opinion of the nation, shall arrive, that the honourable and
 "liberal method would be, to make a handsome present, in fee
 "simple, to the person whoever he may be, that shall then be in
 "the monarchical office, and for him to retire to the enjoyment of
 "private life, possessing his share of general rights and privi-
 "leges, and to be no more accountable to the public for his time
 "and his conduct than any other citizen."

Mr. Garrow. I shall now return to the proceedings of the
 Constitutional Society, read an entry at a Meeting of the 5th of
 October, 1792.

It was read.

"At a meeting of the society held at the Crown and Anchor-
 "Tavern, Strand, on Friday, October 5, 1792.

"Mr. J. F. Tuffin, in the chair.

"Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Sturch, Dr. Maxwell,

"Mr. Bonny, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Joyce,

"Mr.

" Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Walford, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Wallis

" Dr. Edwards, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. J. Williams, Mr.

" Hardy, Mr. Sinclair.

" Ordered, That the letter from the London Corresponding
 " Society, entered on the minutes of the last Meeting, together
 " with the resolution of the society thereon, be published in the
 " newspapers.

" Read the following letter from Mr. Joel Barlow, to the
 " Society for Constitutional Information, London :

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have just published a small Treatise, in a letter to the
 " National Convention of France, on the defects of the Consti-
 " tution of 1791, and the extent of the amendments which ought
 " to be applied. As the true principles of Government are the
 " same in all countries, being founded on the Rights of Man,
 " which are universal and imprescriptible, I conceive the subject
 " of this Treatise cannot be foreign to the great object of your
 " association, of which you have done me the favour to make
 " me an honorary member ; I, therefore, present a copy of it to
 " you, with the same confidence that I have done to the National
 " Convention, a confidence arising from a full conviction that
 " the work is founded in truth and reason, although these prin-
 " ciples seem not so immediately reducible to practice in the
 " government of this country as in that of France, yet their
 " examination can never be unseasonable.

" A great Revolution in the management of the affairs of
 " nations, is, doubtless, soon to be expected through all Eu-
 " rope ; and, in the progress of mankind towards this attain-
 " ment, it is greatly to be desired that the convictions to be
 " acquired from rational discussion, should precede and preclude
 " those which must result from physical exertion.

" Such is certainly the ardent wish of your friend and adopted
 " brother.

(Signed)

" JOEL BARLOW."

" London, October 4, 1792."

" Resolved,

" Resolved, That the said letter be taken into consideration
" at the next Meeting."

Mr. Garrow. We will read the thanks voted to Mr. Barlow for this letter at the next meeting of the Society, which was on the 12th of October.

The entry read.

" At a meeting of the Society held at the Crown and Anchor
" Tavern, Strand, Friday 12th, October, 1792,

" PRESENT

" Mr. Bush in the Chair,

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Symonds, Mr. J. Martin, Mr. Moore, Mr. Merry, Mr. Williams, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Banks, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Watts, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Hull, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Littlejohn, Mr. Balmano, Mr. Aspinall, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Walford, Mr. Richter, Dr. Maxwell, Mr. M. Pearson.

" Read Mr. Joel Barlow's letter to the National Convention of France, on the defects in the Constitution of 1791, and the extent of the amendments which ought to be applied.

" Resolved, That Mr. Sturch be requested to draw up an answer to the letter of Mr. Barlow read at the last meeting, expressing how much pride this Society feel at having elected him an honorary member.

Mr. Joseph Johnson. Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. I believe you are a bookseller in St. Paul's Church Yard?

A. I am.

Q. And a publisher?

A. I am.

Q. Be so good as look at that pamphlet which you have in your hand, and tell me whether that is of your publishing?

A. I really cannot answer that question.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know the person who appears to be the author; Joel Barlow?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. It appears to be published by you, does it not?

A. It does, I published such a pamphlet.

Q. I am not asking you at present whether these sheets of paper came out of your shop, have the goodness to attend to the question, you know Mr. Barlow you say?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Did you publish for him at any time a work with the title of that pamphlet?

A. I did,

Q. Had you communication with him upon the subject of that publication?

A. I had.

Q. Did you from him receive the manuscript?

A. I think I did.

Q. Have you any doubt of it?

A. Whether he gave it to me or the printer I am not sure.

Q. Who paid you for it?

A. The sale paid for it.

Q. Be so good as look at it, and tell me whether you have any doubt that it was published by you for Joel Barlow?

A. I cannot recollect the contents of pamphlets I publish.

Q. I suppose not, you publish a good many?

A. I believe it to be that.

Q. Have you any doubt about it?

A. I cannot say I have any doubt about it.

Q. You publish a great many books, and you do not always recollect the contents—did it happen to you to publish the Rights of Man?

A. No.

Q. Did you sell any?

A. Yes.

Q. How many copies—I don't ask you to within a thousand, but about how many do you think you sold?

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A. I

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Did you sell many or few?

A. I cannot tell what you mean by many.

Q. Did you sell some dozens?

A. Certainly I did—when that pamphlet was published it was supposed not to be a libel, afterwards it was proved to be one. I beg to ask the court whether I am obliged to answer that question?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. It will not expose you to any hazard to say whether you happen to know how many copies were published. The witness ought not to be asked how many he published himself.

Mr. Garrow. Do you know of your own knowledge whether the sale of the book called the Rights of Man was extensive or not? I don't ask you whether you sold one yourself.

A. Yes, I think I can say that the sale was large.

Q. Do you recollect receiving any number of a publication called a Letter to Mr. Dundas from Mr. Paine?

A. I did not publish it.

Q. I did not ask if you published it, or whether you distributed any of it, but whether any certain number of copies of that publication were sent to you by any body—I will assist your memory, were there not seven hundred sent to you?

A. I think there were some sent to me and forwarded into the country—a parcel was sent to me to convey to the coach, I believe.

Q. Where from?

A. I do not know, but I suppose, from the printer's.

Q. Do not you know of your own knowledge by whose order they were sent, or from whom they came?

A. No.

Q. You said the sale of Mr. Barlow's Letter paid for the expence—what quantity might be sold?

A. Perhaps five or six hundred—I really do not know.

Extracts read from—“ A Letter to the National Convention of France, on the defects of the Constitution of 1791, and the extent of the amendments which ought to be applied, by Joel Barlow, Esq. author of Advice to Privileged Orders.”

(From page 1, to the middle of page 12.)

“ Gentlemen the time is at last arrived when the people of France, by resorting to their own proper dignity, feel themselves at liberty to exercise their unembarrassed reason, in establishing an equal government. The present crisis in your affairs, marked by the assembling of a National Convention, bears nearly the same relation to the last four years of your history, as your whole revolution bears to the great accumulated mass of modern improvement, compared, therefore, with all that is past, it is perhaps the most interesting portion of the most important period that Europe has hitherto seen.

“ Under this impression, and with the deepest sense of the magnitude of the subject which engages your attention, I take a liberty which no slight motives could warrant in a stranger, the liberty of offering a few observations on the business that lies before you. Could I suppose, however, that any apology were necessary for this intrusion, I should not rely upon the one here mentioned, but my intentions require no apology; I demand to be heard, as a right. Your cause is that of human nature at large; you are the representatives of mankind; and though I am not literally one of your constituents, yet I must be bound by your decrees. My happiness will be seriously affected by your deliberations; and in them I have an interest, which nothing can destroy. I not only consider all mankind as forming but one great family, and therefore bound by a natural sympathy to regard each other's happiness as making part of their own; but I contemplate the French nation at this moment as standing in the place of the whole, you have stepped forward with a gigantic stride to an enterprise which involves the interests of every surrounding nation;

“ and what you began as justice to yourselves, you are called
 “ upon to finish as a duty to the human race.

“ I believe no man cherishes a greater veneration than I have
 “ uniformly done, for the National Assembly who framed that
 “ Constitution, which I now presume your constituents expect
 “ you to revise. Perhaps the merits of that body of men will
 “ never be properly appreciated. The greatest part of their
 “ exertions were necessarily spent on objects which cannot be
 “ described; and which from their nature can make no figure
 “ in history. The enormous weight of abuses they had to over-
 “ turn, the quantity of prejudice with which their functions
 “ called them to contend, as well in their own minds as in those
 “ of all the European world, the open opposition of interests,
 “ the secret weapons of corruption, and the unbridled fury of
 “ despairing faction—these are subjects which escape our com-
 “ mon observation, when we contemplate the labours of that
 “ Assembly. But the legacy they have left to their country in
 “ their deliberative capacity will remain a lasting monument
 “ to their praise; and though while searching out the defective
 “ parts of their work, without losing sight of the difficulties
 “ under which it was formed, we may find more occasion to
 “ admire its wisdom, than to murmur at its faults; yet this con-
 “ sideration ought not to deter us from the attempt.

“ The great leading principle, on which their constitution
 “ was meant to be founded, is *the equality of rights*. This
 “ principle being laid down with such clearness, and asserted
 “ with so much dignity in the beginning of the code, it is
 “ strange that men of clear understandings should fail to be
 “ charmed with the beauty of the system which nature must
 “ have taught them to build on that foundation. It shows a
 “ disposition to counteract the analogy of nature, to see them
 “ at one moment impressing this indelible principle on our
 “ minds and with the next breath declaring, that France shall
 “ remain a monarchy, that it shall have a king, hereditary, in-
 “ violable, clothed with all the executive, and much of the le-
 “ gislative power, commander in chief of all the national force
 “ by

“ by land and sea, having the initiative of war, and the power
 “ of concluding peace;—and above all, to hear them declare
 “ that, “ The nation will provide for the splendour of the
 “ throne,” granting in their legislative capacity to that throne
 “ more than a million sterling a year, from the national purse,
 “ besides the rents of estates which are said to amount to half
 “ as much more.

“ We must be astonished at the paradoxical organization of
 “ the minds of men who could see no discordance in these ideas;
 “ they begin with the open simplicity of a rational republic, and
 “ immediately plunge into all the labyrinths of royalty; and
 “ a great part of the constitutional code is a practical attempt
 “ to reconcile these two discordant theories. It is a perpetual
 “ conflict between principle and precedent,—between the manly
 “ truths of nature, which we all must feel, and the learned sub-
 “ tilities of statesmen, about which we have been taught to
 “ reason.

“ In reviewing the history of human opinions, it is an un-
 “ pleasant consideration to remark how slow the mind has al-
 “ ways been in seizing the most interesting truths; although,
 “ when discovered, they appear to have been the most obvious.
 “ This remark is no where verified with more circumstances
 “ of regret, than in the progress of your ideas in France relative
 “ to the inutility of the kingly office. It was not enough that
 “ you took your first stand upon the high ground of natural
 “ right; where, enlightened by the sun of reason, you might
 “ have seen the clouds of prejudice roll far beneath your feet, it
 “ was not enough that you began by considering royalty, with
 “ its well known scourges as being the cause of all your evils,
 “ that the kings of modern Europe are the authors of war and
 “ misery, that their mutual intercourse is a commerce of human
 “ slaughter—that public debts and private oppressions, with all
 “ the degrading vices that tarnish the face of nature, had their
 “ origin in that species of government which offers a pre-
 “ mium for wickedness, and teaches the few to trample on the
 “ many; it was not enough that you saw the means of a rege-

"neration of mankind in the system of equal rights, and that
 "in a wealthy and powerful nation you possessed the advantage of
 "reducing that system to immediate practice as an example to
 "the world, and a consolation to human nature. All these ar-
 "guments, with a variety of others, which your republican
 "orators placed in the strongest point of light, were insufficient
 "to raise the public mind to a proper view of the subject.

"It seems that some of your own philosophers had previously
 "taught, that royalty was necessary to a great nation. Montes-
 "quieu, among his whimsical maxims about laws and govern-
 "ment, had informed the world that a limited Monarchy was the
 "best possible system, and that a Democracy could never flourish
 "but in a small tract of country. How many of your legislators
 "believed in this doctrine; how many acted from temporising
 "motives, wishing to banish royalty by slow degrees; and how
 "many were led by principles less pardonable than either, it is
 "impossible to determine. Certain it is, that republican ideas
 "gained no ground upon the monarchical in your constituting
 "assembly, during the last six months of their deliberations. It
 "is likewise certain, that the majority of that assembly took
 "much pains to prevent the people from discovering the cheat
 "of royalty, and to continue their ancient veneration, at least
 "for a while, in favour of certain principles in government,
 "which reason could not approve.

"It is remarkable, that all the perfidy of your King, at the
 "time of his flight, should have had so little effect in opening
 "the eyes of so enlightened a people as the French. His flight,
 "and the insulting declaration which he left behind him, were
 "sufficient not only to give the lie to the fiction, with which
 "common sense has always been put to the blush, and to
 "which your assembly had attempted to give a sanction, *That*
 "*Kings can do no wrong*; but they were sufficient to shew, at
 "least to all who would open their eyes, that the business of
 "government required no such officer. There is no period,
 "during your Revolution, if there is any to be found in the
 "history of France, when business went on with more alacrity
 "and

“ and good order, than during the suspension of the royal func-
 “ tions, in the interval, from the time that the King was brought
 “ back to the capital, in June, till the completion of the con-
 “ stitution in September. Every thing went right in the king-
 “ dom, except within the walls of the assembly. A majority
 “ of that body was determined to make an experiment of a
 “ limited Monarchy. The experiment has been made. Its
 “ duration has, indeed, been short, being less than eleven
 “ months; but, although in some respects it has been almost as
 “ fatal to the cause of liberty as any system could have been
 “ within the time, yet, in other respects, it has done more good
 “ than all the reasonings of all the philosophers of the age could
 “ have done in a much longer time: it has taught them a new
 “ doctrine, which no experience can shake, and which reason
 “ must confirm, *That Kings can do no good.*”

(Page 14 and part of 15.)

“ Among the *probable* evils resulting from the kingly office,
 “ the principal one, and indeed the only one that need to be
 “ mentioned, is the chance of its being held by *a weak or a*
 “ *wicked* man. When the office is hereditary, it is scarcely to
 “ be expected but that this should always be the case. Consi-
 “ dering the birth and education of Princes, the chance of finding
 “ one with practical common sense, is hardly to be reckoned
 “ among possible events; nor is the probability less strong against
 “ their having virtue. The temptations to wickedness arising
 “ from their situation, are too powerful to be resisted. The per-
 “ suasive arts of all their flatterers, the companions of their
 “ youth, the ministers of their pleasures, and every person with
 “ whom they ever converse, are necessarily employed to induce
 “ them to increase their revenue, by oppressing the people, whom
 “ they are taught from their cradle, to consider as beasts of
 “ burthen: and what must almost insure the triumph of wickedness
 “ in their tempers, is, the idea that they act totally and for ever
 “ without restraint. This is an allurements to vice, that even
 “ men of sense could scarcely resist. Impress it on the mind of

“ any man, that he *can do no wrong*, and he will soon convince you of your mistake.

“ Take this general summary of the evils arising from hereditary Monarchy, under any restrictions that can be proposed, and place it on one side of the account, and state, on the other side, the truth which I believe no man of reflection will hereafter call in question, *That Kings can do no good*, and the friends of liberty will no longer be in doubt which way you will decide the question relative to that part of your constitution.”

(Page 22 to 26.)

“ But it will be said, I am too late, with all these observations, on the necessity of proscribing royalty from your constitution. The cause is already judged in the minds of the whole people of France; and their wishes will surely be the rule of your conduct. I suppose that, without being reminded of your duty by a stranger, one of your first resolutions would be, to fix a national anathema on every vestige of regal power, and endeavour to wipe out from the human character the stain which it received with its veneration for Kings and hereditary claims. But it requires much reflection, to be well aware to what extent this duty should carry you. There are many vices in your constitution, which though not apparently connected with the King, had their origin in regal ideas. To purify the whole code from these vices, and to purge human nature from their effects, it will be necessary to resort to many principles which appear not to have struck the minds of the first assembly.

“ You will permit me to hint at some of the great outlines of what may be expected from you, under the peculiar advantages with which you meet to form a glorious Republic. Although many of my ideas may be perfectly superfluous, being the same as will occur to every member of your body, yet it is possible that some of them may strike the mind in a new point of light, and lead to reflections which would not rise from any other quarter. Should this be the case in the smallest degree, it
“ ought

"ought to be considered, both by you and me, as an ample
"reward for our pains, in writing and in reading this letter.

"On considering the subject of government, when the mind
"is once set loose from the shackles of royalty, it finds itself
"in a new world: it rises to a more extensive view of every
"circumstance of the social state. Human nature assumes a new
"and more elevated shape, and displays many moral features,
"which, from having been always disguised, were not known to
"exist. In this case, it is a long time before we acquire a habit
"of tracing effects to their proper causes, and of applying the
"easy and simple remedy to those vices of our nature which
"society requires us to restrain. This, I apprehend, is the
"source of by far the greatest difficulties with which you have to
"contend. We are so much used, in government, to the most
"complicated systems, as being necessary to support those im-
"positions, without which it has been supposed impossible for
"men to be governed, that it is an unusual task to conceive of
"the simplicity to which the business of government may be
"reduced, and to which it must be reduced, if we would have it
"answer the purpose of promoting happiness.

"After proscribing royalty, with all its appendages, I suppose,
"it will not be thought necessary in France to support any other
"errors and superstitions of a similar complexion; but that un-
"disguised reason, in all things, will be preferred to the cloak of
"imposition. Should this be the case, you will conceive it no
"longer necessary to maintain a *national church*. This esta-
"blishment is so manifestly an imposition upon the judgment of
"mankind, that the constituting assembly must have considered
"it in that light. It is one of those monarchical ideas, which
"pay us the wretched compliment of supposing, that we are not
"capable of being governed by our own reason. To suppose
"that the people of France are to learn the mode of worshipping
"God from the decrees of the Council of Trent, is certainly as
"absurd as it would be to appeal to such a Council, to learn how
"to breathe, or to open their eyes. Neither is it true, as is
"argued by the advocates of this part of your constitution, that
"the

“ the preference there given to one mode of worship, by the
 “ payment of the Catholic priests from the national purse, to the
 “ exclusion of others, was founded on the idea of the property
 “ supposed to have been possessed by that church, and which, by
 “ the assembly, was declared to be thenceforward the property of
 “ the nation.

“ The church, in this sense of the word, signifies nothing but
 “ a *mode of worship*; and to prove that a mode can be a pro-
 “ prietor of lands, requires a subtilty of logic that I shall not
 “ attempt to refute. The fact is, the church, considered as an
 “ *hierarchy*, was always necessary to the support of royalty; and
 “ your assembly, with great consistency of design, wishing to
 “ preserve something of the old fabric, preserved something of
 “ this necessary prop. But as the fabric is now overturned, the
 “ prop may be safely taken away. I am confident that mo-
 “ narchy and hierarchy will be buried in the same grave, and
 “ that in France they will not survive the present year.”

(Page 31.)

“ After laying down the great fundamental principle, *that all*
 “ *men are equal in their rights*, it ought to be the invariable
 “ object of the social compact to insure the exercise of that
 “ equality, by rendering them as equal in all sorts of enjoyments,
 “ as can possibly be consistent with good order, industry, and the
 “ reward of merit. Every individual ought to be rendered as
 “ *independent* of every other individual as possible; and, at the
 “ same time, as *dependent* as possible on the whole community.

“ On this undeniable maxim, I think the following positions
 “ ought to be founded and guaranteed in the constitutional
 “ code :

Mr. Lauzun, I found this letter in Mr. Hardy's house among
 his other papers,

It was read,

“ To

" To the London Corresponding Society,

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have lately published a small treatise under the title of " A
 " Letter to the National Convention of France, on the Defects
 " in the Constitution of 1791, and the extent of the Amend-
 " ments which ought to be applied." Although the observations
 " contained in this letter are more particularly applicable to the
 " French Nation in the present crisis of its government, yet, as
 " the true principles of society are every where the same, their
 " examination cannot be unseasonable in any nation or at any
 " time. Believing, therefore, that the subject of this treatise
 " will not be thought foreign to the great object of your asso-
 " ciation, I present a copy of it to you, with the same confidence
 " as I have done to the National Convention, and to the Con-
 " stitutional Society in London; a confidence arising from the
 " full persuasion that the work is founded in truth and reason.

" I take the liberty at the same time to send you a copy of an-
 " other publication, entitled, " Advice to the Privileged Orders."
 " The present disposition in Europe towards a general revolution
 " in the principle of government, is founded in a current of
 " opinion too powerful to be resisted, as well as too sacred to
 " be treated with neglect. It is the duty of every individual to
 " assist, not only in removing the obstructions that are found in
 " the way of this revolution, but in ascertaining with as much
 " precision as possible the nature of the object to be aimed at,
 " and the consequences to be expected from the attainment. It
 " is above all things to be desired that the convictions to be ac-
 " quired from rational discussion, should precede and preclude
 " those which must result from physical exertion.

" Such, I believe, is the object of your society, and such is
 " certainly that of your friend and servant,

" JOEL BARLOW."

" London, Oct. 6, 1792.

Addressed " To the London Corresponding Society, care of Mr.

" Thomas Hardy, No. 9, Piccadilly,"

Mr.

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Johnson. Who was the author of this pamphlet, which appears to have been published by you, entitled "Advice to the Privileged Orders."

A. I published a pamphlet with that title for Mr. Barlow : I believe this is it.

Q. Do you know whether he was the sole author of it, or were there any other persons concerned in it ?

A. I cannot tell ; but I really believe he was the sole author.

Q. Which you published in the same way, I suppose, as you did the other—Had it a large sale ?

A. Not a very large sale ; not many more than a thousand, I believe.

Extracts read from "Advice to the Privileged Orders of the several States of Europe, resulting from the Necessity and Propriety of a General Revolution in the Principles of Government, Part I. the Third Edition, by Joel Barlow."

(From Page 17 to Page 20.)

" Mr. Burke, however, in his defence of Royalty, does not
" rely on this argument of the compact. Whether it be that he
" is conscious of its futility, or that in his rage he forgets that he
" has used it, he is perpetually recurring to the last ground that
" has yet been heard of on which we are called upon to consider
" kings, even as a tolerable nuisance ; and to support the existing
" forms of government, this ground is the *general good of the*
" *community*. It is said to be dangerous to pull down systems
" that are already formed, or even to attempt to improve them ;
" and it is likewise said, that, were they peaceably destroyed, and
" we had society to build up anew, it would be best to create
" hereditary kings, hereditary orders, and exclusive privileges.

" These are sober opinions, uniting a class of reasoners too
" numerous and too respectable to be treated with contempt. I
" believe, however, that their number is every day diminishing ;
" and I believe the example which France will soon be obliged
" to

“ to exhibit to the world on this subject, will induce every man
 “ to reject them who is not personally and exclusively interested
 “ in their support.

“ The inconsistency of the constituent assembly, in retain-
 “ ing an hereditary king, armed with an enormous civil list,
 “ to wage war with a popular government, has induced some
 “ persons to predict the downfall of their constitution ; but this
 “ measure had a different origin from what is commonly assigned
 “ to it, and will probably have a different issue ; it was the
 “ result rather of local and temporary circumstances, than of any
 “ general believe in the utility of kings, under any modifications
 “ or limitations that could be attached to the office.

“ It is to be observed, *first*, that the French had a king upon
 “ their hands : this king had always been considered as a well-
 “ disposed man ; so that, by a fatality somewhat singular, though
 “ not unexampled in *regal history*, he gained the love of the
 “ people almost in proportion to the mischief which he did them.
 “ *Secondly*, their king had very powerful family connections in
 “ the sovereigns of Spain, Austria, Naples and Sardinia, besides
 “ his relations within the kingdom, whom it was necessary to
 “ attach, if possible, to the interests of the community. *Thirdly*,
 “ the Revolution was considered by all Europe as a high and
 “ dangerous experiment ; it was necessary to hide, as much as
 “ possible, the appearance of its magnitude from the eye of the
 “ distant observer. The reformers considered it as their duty to
 “ produce an internal regeneration of society, rather than an ex-
 “ ternal change in the appearance of the court ; to set in order
 “ the counting-house and the kitchen, before arranging the
 “ drawing-room. This would leave the sovereigns of Europe
 “ totally without a pretext for interfering, while it would be
 “ consoling to that class of philosophers who still believed in the
 “ compatibility of royalty and liberty. *Fourthly*, this decree that
 “ *France should have a king*, and that he *could do no wrong*, was
 “ passed at an early period of their operations, when the above
 “ reasons were apparently more urgent than they were afterwards,
 “ or probably will ever be again.

“ From

" From these considerations we may conclude that royalty is
 " preserved in France for reasons which are fugitive ; that a ma-
 " jority of the Constituent Assembly did not believe in it as
 " an abstract principle ; that a majority of the people will learn
 " to be disgusted with so unnatural and ponderous a deformity in
 " their new edifice, and will soon hew it off.

" After this improvement shall have been made, a few years
 " experience in the face of Europe, and on so great a theatre as
 " that of France, will probably leave but one opinion, in the
 " minds of honest men, relative to the republican principle, or the
 " great simplicity of nature, applied to the organization of
 " society.

(Page 21.)

" It depends on a much more important class of men, the
 " class that cannot write, and in a great measure on those who
 " cannot read ; it is to be decided by men who reason better
 " without books, than we do with all the books in the world :
 " taking it for granted, therefore, that a general revolution is at
 " hand, whose progress is *irresistible*, my object is to contemplate
 " its probable effects, and to comfort those who are afflicted at the
 " prospect."

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Johnson. Did you publish the former editions of this work ?

A. I did.

Q. Perhaps you mean that the sale of each edition was not more than you mentioned ?

A. There were three editions, five hundred each edition, and there were a considerable number left.

Q. Was this first published before the death of the late King of the French, or not ?

Mr. Johnson. What is the date in the title-page ?

Mr. Garrow. This is the third edition—Do you know whether this was published before, or after that event ?

A. I cannot tell—I think it was published in 1792, or 1791.

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Johnson. Be so good as look at that pamphlet: it is called " A letter to the Addressers, by Thomas
 " Paine."

"Paine." Do you know whether any pamphlet of that sort was published by Thomas Paine.

A. Certainly there was.

Q. Do you believe this to be one of the copies that were so published?

A. I believe it is.

Q. I do not know whether you know any thing of the cheap edition or not—Do you know how soon the cheap edition came out after the first edition.

A. No.

Q. Have you seen any of the cheap edition?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether that was published about the same time?

A. It was published after the large edition—I do not know how long.

Q. Look at that copy of the cheap edition, and say whether you believe that to be one of the copies that was published?

A. I cannot say, because any printer may copy this.

Mr. Erskine. Do you mean to swear that the large edition is—that either is.

A. No. I only believe it from the appearance of it—any printer may copy it.

Mr. Garrow. You have already said, that you believe that to be one of the copies of the large edition which was published by Mr. Paine.

A. It has all the appearance of it—any printer may take a fac simile copy of it.

Q. Upon looking at it, do you believe it to be one, or have you any doubt on the subject.

A. I cannot positively say—a printer may print a fac simile of it.

Q. Do you believe that to have been printed by a printer making a fac simile without authority, or to be one of the original edition? I ask you upon your oath.

A. I cannot say, because a printer can make a fac simile.

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Unless he can speak from the type, or the intrinsic circumstances, it is nothing.

A. I really cannot so speak.

Mr. Garrow. Who does that appear in the title-page to be printed by?

A. Symonds.

Q. Is there any other person named as the publisher?

A. And Clio Rickman.

Q. Had you communications with the author upon the subject of an edition of the Address to the Addressers?

A. I beg leave to address the Court.—My Lord, this publication has been deemed a libel —

Mr. Garrow. I am not asking the witness whether he published or sold any of them, or whether he lent any one, but whether he had any communication with the author upon the subject.

A. The author printed it, to the best of my knowledge, when I was in the country—I was at Margate, I believe, at the time when he printed this pamphlet.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Hitherto I do not observe, that you have laid a ground for asking any question about this book.

Mr. Attorney-General. We will postpone the examination of Mr. Johnson at present.

Mr. Garrow. We will now read the rest of the minute of the Constitutional Society of the 12th of October, which your Lordship recollects we postponed in order to read Mr. Barlow's book.

(It was read.)

“ Ordered,

“ That the Secretary be directed to transmit a copy of the “ Argus of to-morrow to each of the members of this society.

“ Read,

“ The following Letter, and inclosed Address to the National “ Convention of France, from the London Corresponding “ Society.

“ To

" To D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional
" Information.

" SIR,

" Your favor of the third instant, informing us, that our
" proposal for addressing the French National Convention, had
" met with the approbation of the Society for Constitutional
" Information, we have enclosed you a copy of the address we
" have drawn up, and mean to send, the society at large having
" approved of it.

" Not in the least presuming to propose it for the adoption of
" your society, ourselves will joyfully throw it aside, and as
" readily subscribe to any production of your's, better calculated
" to answer the purpose, and less unworthy being presented to
" so august an Assembly.

" Should no other be produced, we imagine this plain, but
" honest address, will be adopted by some other societies, in
" concurrence with our own; and respecting the manner of
" signing, of conveying, and of presenting it, your better ex-
" perience will greatly oblige,

" Gentlemen,

" Your very humble Servants,

" For the Committee of the London Corresponding Society,
(Signed)

" MAURICE MARGAROT, *Chairman.*

" THOMAS HARDY, *Secretary.*"

" Thursday, 11th October, 1792."

" FRENCHMEN.

" While foreign robbers are ravaging your territories, under
" the specious pretext of Justice; Cruelty and Desolation leading
" on their van, Perfidy with Treachery bringing up their rear,
" yet Mercy and Friendship impudently held forth to the world
" as the sole motives of their incursions, the oppressed part of
" mankind forgetting, for a while, their own sufferings, feel only
" for yours, and with an anxious eye watch the event, fervently
" supplicating the Almighty Ruler of the Universe to be favour-
" able to your cause, so intimately blended with their own.

" Frowned upon by an oppressive system of controul, whose
 " gradual, but continued encroachments, have deprived this
 " nation of nearly all its boasted Liberty, and brought us almost
 " to that abject state of Slavery, from which you have so
 " emerged, 5,000 British Citizens, indignant, manfully step
 " forth to rescue their country from the opprobrium brought
 " upon it, by the supine conduct of those in power. They
 " conceive it to be the duty of Britons to countenance and assist,
 " to the utmost of their power, the Champions of Human Hap-
 " piness, and to swear to a nation, proceeding on the plan you
 " have adopted, an inviolable Friendship. Sacred from this
 " day be that Friendship between us ! And may Vengeance to
 " the uttermost, overtake the man who hereafter shall attempt
 " to cause a rupture.

" Though we appear so few at present, be assured, French-
 " men, that our number encreases daily ; it is true, that the
 " stern uplifted arm of authority at present keeps back the
 " timid, that busily circulated impostors hourly mislead the
 " credulous, and that Court intimacy, with avowed French
 " Traitors, has some effect on the unwary, and on the ambitious.
 " But, with certainty, we can inform you, Friends and Freemen,
 " that information makes a rapid progress among us. Curiosity
 " has taken possession of the public mind ; the conjoint reign
 " of Ignorance and Despotism passes away. Men now ask each
 " other, what is Freedom ? What are our Rights ? French-
 " men, you are already free, and Britons are preparing to
 " become so !

" Casting far from us the criminal prejudices artfully in-
 " culcated by evil-minded men, and wily Courtiers, we, instead of
 " natural enemies, at length discover in Frenchmen, our fellow
 " Citizens of the world, and our brethren by the same Heavenly
 " Father, who created us for the purpose of loving and mutually
 " assisting each other ; but not to hate, and to be ever ready to
 " cut each others throats, at the command of weak or ambitious
 " Kings, and corrupt Ministers.

" Seeking our real enemies, we find them in our bosoms ; we
 " feel ourselves inwardly torn by, and ever the victims of a
 " restless,

" restless, all-consuming aristocracy, hitherto the bane of every
 " nation under the sun! Wisely have you acted in expelling it
 " from France.

" Warm as are our wishes for your success, eager as we are
 " to behold Freedom triumphant, and man every where restored
 " to the enjoyment of his just rights, a sense of our duty, as
 " orderly Citizens, forbids our flying in arms to your assistance;
 " our Government has pledged the national faith to remain
 " neutral:—in a struggle of Liberty against Despotism, Britons
 " remain neutral! O shame! But we have entrusted our King
 " with discretionary powers;—we, therefore, must obey;—our
 " hands are bound, but our hearts are free, and they are with
 " you.

" Let German Despots act as they please. We shall rejoice
 " at their fall, compassionating however their enslaved subjects.
 " We hope this tyranny of their masters will prove the means of
 " reinstating, in the full enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties,
 " millions of our fellow creatures.

" With unconcern, therefore, we view the Elector of Hanover
 " join his troops to traitors and robbers; but the King of
 " Great Britain will do well to remember, that this country
 " is not Hanover.—Should he forget this distinction, we will
 " not.

" While you enjoy the envied glory of being the unaided
 " defenders of Freedom, we fondly anticipate, in idea, the nu-
 " merous blessings mankind will enjoy, if you succeed, as we
 " ardently wish, the Triple Alliance (not of Crowns, but) of the
 " people of America, France, and Britain, will give Freedom to
 " Europe, and peace to the whole world. Dear Friends, you
 " combat for the advantage of the human race. How well pur-
 " chased will be, though at the expence of much blood, the
 " glorious, the unprecedented privilege of saying, mankind is
 " free! Tyrants and tyranny are no more! Peace reigns on
 " the earth! And this is the work of Frenchmen."

" Resolved,

" That the thanks of this society be given to the London
 " Corresponding Society, for the above address transmitted by

" them; and that the secretary acquaint them, this society do
" highly approve of the spirit of the same."

*The following entries were read from the books of the Society
for Constitutional Information.*

" At a Meeting of the Society held at the Crown and
" Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, October 19, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. I. H. Tooke in the chair.

" Mr. Sturch, Mr. Hull, Mr. Frost, Mr. Williams, Mr. Merry,
" Dr. Edwards, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Ansell, Mr. Sharpe, Mr.
" Brookbank, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Banks, Mr. Bonney, Mr.
" Peacock, Mr. Walford, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Joyce, Mr.
" Holcroft, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Richter, Lord Edward
" Fitzgerald, Mr. Sinclair.

" Mr. Sturch produced and read to the society the following
" answer, he was directed to prepare to Mr. Joel Barlow,
" which was approved of and published together with Mr. Bar-
" low's letter to this society in the papers.

" SIR,

" Your manly and energetic address to the National Conven-
" tion of France, having been received by the society for Con-
" stitutional Information, and read at their last Meeting, they
" cannot hesitate to return you their unanimous thanks for so
" valuable a present, and to express in the warmest terms their
" hearty approbation of its spirit and tendency; your little treatise,
" by exhibiting the most important political truths in a new and
" striking point of view, is, in their opinion, happily calculated
" to inform the inquiring mind, and to inspire an ardent and en-
" lightened zeal for the freedom and happiness of mankind. In
" this opinion, they doubt not, the public voice will concur,
" when the pamphlet shall have obtained that general circulation
" to which its merits intitle it.

" It

" It is with reason that you think the subject of your book
 " not foreign to the great object of the society, which has inva-
 " riably been to lead their countrymen to think for themselves on
 " the momentous subject of government, and thus to produce an
 " universal and practical conviction of one great truth, that with-
 " out a real representation of the people, frequently renewed, there
 " can be no effectual check to that system of corruption, by
 " which the public treasure is squandered; no security for that
 " portion of liberty which we shall enjoy, nor any rational hope
 " that government will be conducted with a view to its only pro-
 " per object, the happiness of the many, and not the interest of
 " the few.

" The society observe, with heart-felt satisfaction, that in the
 " present great crisis of human affairs while some writers are
 " found even in this country, who openly proclaim what they
 " call the ' Cause of Kings' in opposition to the cause of the
 " people, whom they impudently term the ' Swinish Multitude ;'
 " there are not wanting on the other hand, men of the first cha-
 " racter and ability who nobly vindicate the Rights of Man, and
 " they trust, that your excellent writings in general, and the
 " letter to the Convention of France in particular, will be emi-
 " nently conducive to the success and final triumph of that cause,
 " which you justly style ' the most glorious that ever engaged
 " the attention of mankind.'

" *Joel Barlow, Esq.*"

" Read the following letter from the London Corresponding
 " Society.

" *London, October 18, 1792.*

" SIR,

" The London Corresponding Society learn, with pleasure,
 " that the Society for Constitutional Information approve the
 " spirit of our address; but to come back to the point, we ima-
 " gine that as you had previously approved the measure, and as
 " you now like the spirit of the address, we may with propriety,
 " ask you, whether you will concur with us in sending that ad-
 " dress, or whether you will draw up another letter suited to the

“ present circumstances; and permit us to join you in transmitting it to the French National Convention.”

“ I am, Sir,

“ For the Committee of the Delegates of the

“ London Corresponding Society,

“ Your very humble S. r. vant,

“ MAURICE MARGAROT, CHAIRMAN.

“ D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information.”

“ Resolved,

“ That the Committee be appointed to confer with the Dele-

“ gates of the London Corresponding Society, on an address to

“ the National Convention of France.”

“ At a Meeting of the Society held Friday, October 26,
“ 1792, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand.

“ Mr. John Frost in the Chair,

“ Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Peacock, Mr. Moore, Mr. Hull, Mr.

“ Walford, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Banks, Mr.

“ Balmano, Dr. Maxwell, Mr. J. Martin, Mr. Sinclair,

“ Mr. Sturch, Mr. Joyce, Colonel Keating, Mr. Pearson,

“ Mr. Bonney, Mr. I. Williams, Mr. I. H. Tookey, Mr.

“ Brookbank, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Bailey, Mr.

“ Morgan, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Satchell, Mr. J. Adams, Mr.

“ Richter, Mr. Geddes.

“ The Secretary read the report of the Committee appointed
“ at the last Meeting.

“ Resolved,

“ That the report of the Committee be re-committed,

“ Ordered,

“ That the Secretary do procure correct copies of the manifestos, published by the late General Burgoyne while in America; of the first manifesto lately published by the Duke of Brunswick in France; of the last Royal proclamation against writings and meetings in England; and of the Emperors re-

“ cent

“cent proclamation at Brussels on the same subject. In order
“that these four pieces may be printed fairly together on one
“sheet of paper, and be transmitted by this society to all the
“associated societies in Great-Britain.

“Resolved, That the above order be published in the new-
“papers.

“Resolved, That at the next meeting of this society, they
“do consider of an answer to the London Corresponding So-
“ciety on the subject of their letter, accompanying their address
“to the National Convention of France.

“Resolved, That at the said meeting, the society do attend
“to the example of the London Corresponding Society, and
“consider of an address to the National Convention of France.”

“At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
“held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, No-
“vember 2, 1792.

“PRESENT

“Mr. Frost in the Chair,

“Mr. Tooke, Mr. Bosville, Mr. Walth, Dr. Edwards, Mr.
“Bonney, Mr. I. Martin, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Sharp, Mr.
“Geddes, Colonel Keating, Mr. Rae, Mr. Bakewell, Mr.
“Joyce, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Hol-
“croft, Mr. Williams, Mr. Hind, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. M.
“Bush, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Aspinall, Mr. Fitzgerald.

“Resolved, “That a Committee of Correspondence be ap-
“pointed, to consider of, and prepare answers to all such letters
“as are, or may be, sent to this society.

“Ordered, That the answer to the letter of the London
“Corresponding Society, accompanying their address to the
“National Convention of France, be referred to the said Com-
“mittee.

“Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to consider of
“an address to the National Convention of France.

“Resolved,

“ Resolved, That Messrs. Barlow, Sinclair and Tuffin, do
“ compose the said Committee; and that the said Committee be
“ requested to make their report on Friday next.”

“ At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
“ held at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, Friday 9th Novem-
“ ber, 1792.

“ PRESENT,

“ Lord Sempill in the Chair.

“ Mr. Bosville, Mr. Rae, Mr. Hull, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Jen-
“ nings, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Frost, Mr. Tooké, Mr. Sturch, Col.
“ Keating, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Sin-
“ clair, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Watts, Mr. Richter, Mr. Little-
“ john, Captain Perry, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Banks, Mr.
“ Williams, Mr. Geddes, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Parkinson,
“ Mr. Gerald, Mr. Rickman, Mr. Bush, jun. Mr. Lockhart,
“ Mr. Moore.

“ The committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare an
“ address from this society to the National Convention of France,
“ made their report, and produced the following address, which
“ was read and approved.

“ The Society for Constitutional Information in London, to the
“ National Convention of France.

“ Servants of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Man-
“ kind,

“ We rejoice that your revolution has arrived at that point of
“ perfection which will permit us to address you by this title; it
“ is the only one that can accord with the character of true legis-
“ lators. Every successive epoch in your affairs, has added
“ something to the triumphs of liberty; and the glorious victory
“ of the 10th of August, has finally prepared the way for a con-
“ stitution, which we trust you will establish on the basis of rea-
“ son and nature.

“ Considering the mass of delusion accumulated on mankind,
“ to obscure their understandings, you cannot be astonished at

“ the

“ the opposition you have met both from tyrants and from slaves.
 “ —The instrument used against you by each of these classes, is
 “ the same; for in the genealogy of human miseries, ignorance is
 “ at once the parent of oppression, and the child of submission.

“ The events of every day are proving, that your cause is
 “ cherished by the people in all your continental vicinity; that a
 “ majority of each of those nations are your real friends, whose
 “ governments have tutored them into apparent foes, and that
 “ they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the dreaded
 “ necessity of fighting against them.

“ The condition of Englishmen is less to be deplored—here
 “ the hand of oppression has not yet ventured completely to ravish
 “ the pen from us, nor openly to point the sword at you. From
 “ bosoms burning with ardour in your cause, we tender you our
 “ warmest wishes for the full extent of its progress and success.
 “ It is indeed a sacred cause; we cherish it as the pledge of your
 “ happiness, our natural and nearest friends; and we rely upon it
 “ as the bond of fraternal union to the human race, in which union
 “ our own nation will surely be one of the first to concur.

“ Our government has still the power, and perhaps the incli-
 “ nation, to employ hirelings to contradict us; but it is our
 “ real opinion, that we now speak the sentiments of a great ma-
 “ jority of the English nation.—The people here are wearied
 “ with imposture, and worn out with war; they have learned to
 “ reflect, that both the one and the other are the offspring of un-
 “ natural combinations in society as relative to systems of go-
 “ vernment, not the result of the natural temper of nations, as re-
 “ lative to each others happiness.

“ Go on, legislators, in the work of human happiness—the
 “ benefits will in part be ours, but the glory shall be all your
 “ own. It is the reward of your perseverance, it is the prize of
 “ virtue. The sparks of liberty preserved in England for ages,
 “ like the coruscations of the northern Aurora, served but to shew
 “ the darkness visible in the rest of Europe. The lustre of the
 “ American republic, like an effulgent morning, arose with in-
 “ creasing vigour, but still too distant to enlighten our hemi-
 “ sphere, till the splendour of the French revolution burst forth
 “ upon

" upon the nations, in the full fervour of a meridian sun, and displayed in the midst of the European world, the practical result of principles which philosophy had sought in the shade of speculation, and which experience must every where confirm. It dispels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the secrets of all despotism, and creates a new character in man.

" In this career of improvement, your example will be soon followed; for nations, rising from their lethargy, will reclaim the rights of man with a voice which man cannot resist.

" (Signed by Order of the Society)

" *SEMPILL, Chairman.*

" *D. ADAMS, Secretary.*

" Resolved, That the thanks of this society be given to the committee who prepared the above address.

" Resolved, That Mr. Barlow and Mr. Frost be deputed by this society to present the address of this society at the bar of the National Convention of France.

" Resolved, That the thanks of this society be given to Mr. Barlow and Mr. Frost for accepting the above deputation.

" Resolved, That the said address be signed by the chairman and secretary.

" Resolved, that a subscription be opened in this society, for the purpose of assisting the efforts of France in the cause of freedom.

" Resolved, That the above resolution be published in the morning and evening papers.

" Resolved, That an answer be returned by the secretary, to the London Corresponding Society's letter, accompanied by a few copies of Mr. Paine's Letters to the French People."

" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 16th November, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Bosville in the Chair.

" Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Hull, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Pearson, Mr.

" Frost, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Moore, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Ge-

" rald,

- " rald, Dr. Edwards, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Barlow, Mr.
" Banks, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Bush, jun. Mr.
" Aspinal, Mr. Rae, Dr. Smith, Col. Keating, Mr. Chatfield,
" Mr. Martin, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Phillips,
" Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Grant, Mr.
" Tuffin, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Milner, Mr. Watts,
" Mr. Bailey, Capt. Perry, Mr. Walford, Mr. Sutton.
" Read a letter from Mr. Phillips, of Leicester, requesting that
" the particulars of this society might be sent him for the purpose
" of establishing a Constitutional Society in that town.
" Ordered, That the secretary send to Mr. Phillips such of the
" publications of this society, as he may think necessary for the
" purpose mentioned in Mr. Phillips's letter.
-

" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 7th
" December, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Bryant in the Chair.

- " Mr. John Martin, Col. Keating, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney,
" Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Walfsh, Mr. Delacour, Mr.
" G. Maltby, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. G. Williams, Mr.
" Sturch, Mr. Richter, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Chatfield, Mr.
" Holcroft, Mr. I. Williams, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Campbell,
" Mr. Watts, Mr. Cooper (Jefferys-Sq.) Rev. Dr. Towers,
" Mr. Balmanno, Dr. Smith, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Rae, Mr.
" Hardy, Mr. Joyce, Mr. White, Lord Sempill, Mr. Lock-
" hart.
" Read a letter from Mr. Barlow and Mr. Frost, with the
" address to the National Convention of France, and the answer
" of the president.
" Ordered, That the same be taken into consideration at some
" future meeting."
-

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found these papers in the possession
of Mr. Adams.

Mr.

Mr. Garrow. This is the letter referred to in the minute last read.

It was read.

" Citizens and Associates,

" We have executed your commission to the National Convention of France, in a manner which we hope will meet your approbation. A translation of the papers herewith inclosed, was yesterday presented at the bar of the Convention, and received with universal applause. After which, the president gave us the kiss of fraternity in behalf of the French nation, which we returned in behalf of our society. The scene was truly interesting to every feeling of humanity, and drew tears from a crowded assembly. It gave rise to reflections which can scarcely be conceived by men in any other circumstance of life; it was the reconciliation of brothers, who had long been excited to a mortal enmity by misunderstanding and mutual imposition. The wounds which had bled for ages were closed and forgot, while the voice of nature declared they should never more be opened. The president pronounced a discourse in answer to our address, which we likewise enclose.

" *Paris, 29th Nov. 1792.*

" *JOEL BARLOW.*

" *JOHN FROST.*

" *To the Society for Constitutional*

" *Information in*

" *London."*

" *At the Bar of the Convention, November 28.*

" Citizens of France,

" We are deputed from the *Society for Constitutional Information in London*, to present to you their congratulations on the triumphs of liberty. This society had laboured long in the cause, with little prospect of success, previous to the commencement of your revolution. Conceive then their exultations of gratitude, when by the astonishing efforts of your nation, they behold the reign of reason acquiring an extension and solidity,

" lidity, which promise to reward the labours of all good men,
 " by securing the happiness of their fellow creatures.

" Innumerable societies of a similar nature are now forming
 " in every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They excite
 " a spirit of universal enquiry into the complicated abuses of go-
 " vernment, and the simple means of reform.

" After the example which France has given, the science of
 " revolutions will be rendered easy, and the progress of reason
 " will be rapid. It would not be strange, if, in a period far
 " short of what we should venture to predict, addresses of fe-
 " licitation should cross the seas to a *National Convention in*
 " *England.*"

(*Here follows the Address.*)

" We are also commissioned to inform the Convention, that
 " the society which we represent has sent to the soldiers of liberty
 " a patriotic donation of one thousand pair of shoes, which are
 " by this time arrived at Calais; and the society will continue
 " sending a thousand pair a week for at least six weeks to come.
 " We only wish to know to whose care they ought to be ad-
 " dressed.

" *Paris, Nov. 28th, 1792.*

" *JOEL BARLOW.*

" *JOHN FROST.*"

" The President's Answer.

" Brave children of a nation which has given lustre to the two
 " worlds, and great examples to the universe; you have ad-
 " dressed us with something more than good wishes, since the
 " condition of our warriors has excited your solicitude. The
 " defenders of our liberty will one day be the supporters of your
 " own. You command our esteem, you will accept our grati-
 " tude. The sons of liberty through the world will never forget
 " their obligations to the English nation.

" The shades of Pym, of Hamden, and of Sidney, are hover-
 " ing over your heads; and the moment cannot be distant, when
 " the people of France will offer their congratulations to a Na-
 " tional Convention in England. Too long has the torch of

" discord

" discord enflamed the English and the French; while the ambition of kings, fomenting national aversions, compelled them to forget, that nature has produced none but brothers.

" Your islands, it is said, were severed from the continent by a great convulsion of the globe; but liberty, established on the two shores of the narrow sea which divides us, will repair the breach, and restore the two nations to the harmony and friendship for which nature has designed them. Reason has begun her majestic march; she can no longer be resisted in her course.

" Generous republicans, your appearance in this place will form an epoch in the history of mankind. History will consecrate the day, when, from a nation long regarded as a rival, and in the name of a great number of your fellow citizens, you appeared in the midst of the representatives of the people of France, and she will not forget to recount, that our hearts expanded at the sight. Tell the society which deputed you, and assure your fellow citizens in general, that in your friends, the French, you have found men."

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Society for Constitutional Information.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, Strand, Friday, December 14, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, in the chair.
 " Mr. Christopher Hull, some part of the time in the chair.
 " Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Bonney, Mr. J. Martin, Mr. Bannano, jun. Mr. G. Maltby, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Chatfield, Lord Sempill, Mr. Moore, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Reader, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Banks, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Rutt, Mr. B. Cooper, Mr. Chalk, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Rae, Mr. Fitzgerald, Colonel Keating, Mr. G. Watts, Mr. Williams, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Sinclair.
 " Read a printed address from Manchester.

“ Resolved, That the said address be approved for publishing
“ in the newspapers.

“ A motion was made and seconded, that the 20th law of this
“ society be suspended on this occasion, which motion was car-
“ ried in the affirmative.

“ Resolved, That the said address be printed in the newspapers.

“ Resolved, That one hundred thousand copies of the same be
“ printed by this society, and distributed to their correspondents
“ in Great-Britain and Ireland.

“ Resolved, That the said resolutions be signed by the chair-
“ man and secretary.

“ Read a letter from the Society of Friends of Liberty and
“ Equality, sitting at Laon, capital of the department D'l'Aisne,
“ to the patriotic society of London, named the Society for
“ Constitutional Information.

“ Resolved, That the said letter be referred to the committee
“ of correspondence.”

Mr. Maclean. I found these three papers in the house of Mr.
Adams.

William Huskisson, Esq. (sworn); Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. You resided, I believe, for a considerable time in France?

A. I did.

Q. You are well acquainted with the French language?

A. I am.

*Mr. Huskisson delivered into Court English translations of the
three letters produced by Maclean.*

They were read.

“ Apt, the 17th December,

“ First Year of the French Republic.

“ The Popular and Republican Society of Apt, Department of the
“ Mouths of the Rhone, to the Popular Society, sitting at
“ London.

“ LIVE FREE, or DIE!

“ CITIZENS, BRETHREN, and FRIENDS,

“ When two great nations, acquainted with their rights, ap-
“ proximated by their commercial connections and their natural
“ situation, formed to love and to act in concert with each other,
“ begin

" begin to frame the glorious project of uniting themselves for the
 " regeneration of the human race, one may then say with reason,
 " that Kings are ripe and ready to fall.

" How glorious will it be for France and England to have
 " formed alone a confederacy destructive of tyrants, and to have
 " purchased, at the price of their blood, the Liberty of Europe—
 " we may say more, of the whole Universe.

" Courage, Brethren and Friends. It is for you to follow
 " us in the glorious and hazardous career of the Revolution of
 " the World. Can ye, any longer, groan under the yoke of a
 " government, that has nothing of liberty but the name? For,
 " although your land was inhabited before others by freemen,
 " can ye, without illusion, consider your government as such?

" Will ye content yourselves with a partial freedom? Will
 " the English be satisfied with principles? Will that bold nation,
 " that has produced philosophers the most profound, and that
 " first of all perceived the sparkling rays of reason, remain a
 " spectatrix in so noble a cause.

" No, Brethren and Friends, no! you will soon lift your-
 " selves up against that perfidious Court of St. James's, whose
 " infernal policy, like to that which found its tomb in the Thuil-
 " leries, has made so many victims in our two nations, and does
 " disunite them perpetually, to rule over them.

" Your love for liberty, has fixed your attention upon the
 " wants of our defenders; your generosity toward them is a
 " title to the acknowledgements of the Republic. We are im-
 " patient to furnish you the same advantages. The popular
 " societies of France desire ardently the epoch that shall permit
 " them to address their vows to the National Assembly of Great-
 " Britain, and to offer to the soldiers of the liberty of your
 " nation, arms, bayonets, and pikes.

" The members composing the committee of correspondence.

" AUSELME

" RASPAUD,

" AUBOR,

" SEBRET,

" ABUISE,

" PERRIN AGLEAN,"

" VULIJ,

" To the Citizens composing the Constitutional
 " Society, sitting at London."

" *The Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, sitting at*
 " *Laon, the head of the department of the Aisne, to the pa-*
 " *triotic society of London, called the Society for Constitutional*
 " *Information.*

" GENEROUS REPUBLICANS,

" The philanthropic gift that you have presented to the war-
 " riors of France, announces, with energy, the great interest
 " that you take in the sacred cause which they are defending.

" Accept the thanks of a society that does honour to itself in
 " esteeming you.

" The time, perhaps, is not far distant, when the soldiers of
 " our liberty shall be able to testify their gratitude to you.
 " Then their arms, their blood itself, shall be at the service of
 " all your fellow-citizens, who, like you, acknowledge no rights
 " but the Rights of Man. Then France and England shall
 " form together a treaty of union as lasting as the course of the
 " Seine and the Thames. Then there, as here, there shall exist
 " no other reign but that of Liberty, Equality, and Friendship.
 " May this day of felicity and glory soon shine upon the horizon
 " of two nations, formed to admire each other.

" 2d December, 1792. *First Year of the French Republic.*

" The members composing the committee of correspondence:

" HAMAIDES, BAWDRY, DEMONCIAUX,"

The Envelope is directed " *To the patriotic society of*

" *London, called the Society for Constitutional*

" *Information, at London, England.*"

" *First Year of the French Republic, 6th December, 1792.*

" *The Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, established*
 " *at Macon, department of the Saone and Loire, to the Con-*
 " *stitutional Society of London.*

" Yes, Citizens, our Brethren and Friends, the 10th of
 " August, 1792, shall be distinguished in the annals of the
 " world as the day of the triumph of Liberty.

“ Our first Revolution did but shew to us the salutary principles of the imprescriptible Rights of Man: All, except the unprincipled and the enemies of humanity, adopted them with enthusiasm. It was then that we formed ourselves into a society, in order the better to impress them upon ourselves, and afterwards to teach them to our fellow-citizens.

“ Our first constitution had consecrated them, but had not always taken them for its base. The dominion of the passions, the force of habit, the impression of prejudices, and the power of the intrigues employed in our constituent assembly, found the secret to preserve sufficient authority to our tyrants, to extinguish, at some time, the sacred rights of nature, and to re-establish despotism on its throne of iron.

“ But Royalty, thus preserved, was not content with the victory that had secured to it the greatest number of the corrupt persons who surrounded it. It was impatient to reap the fruits that it appeared to promise itself. But its too great eagerness has hastened its ruin, and secured the triumph of reason.

“ The French, proud of their new existence, soon perceived the fault of their first legislators, became sensible of the imperfection of its first laws—saw that they made a surrender of the rights of liberty and equality which they had embraced, they roused themselves anew to demand, at length, laws impartial and humane.

“ From thence the necessary day of the tenth of August 1792. From thence a second Revolution, but a Revolution which is only the completion of the first, which has received our vows and our oaths, and which we will bless for ever, if it leads us, as we hope it will, to the happiness of the nation, to the constant maintenance of liberty and equality.

“ Let intriguers, tools, and tyrants calumniate us; we despise them too much to condescend to answer them, and seek for their esteem.

“ That which flatters us, is, the interest that you take in our labours, your attention to contribute to the success of

"our arms; we desire your esteem, we are proud of your approbation.

"We smile at the expression of the sentiments that you manifested to our representatives: we behold a nation of brethren rouse itself to support the cause of humanity: we behold the brave English adopt our principles, become our friends; we say to ourselves with pleasure, soon will they become our allies, and, uniting our efforts, we shall go on to deliver the Universe from the yoke of tyrants—to restore the nations to reason and nature.

"That day is not far distant, if we may rely on our own courage, and the hope of your alliance.

"In the mean time receive our thanks, and correspond with brethren who set a high value upon your esteem.

(Signed) "LAVENIE, the younger, President.

"J. B. REPEY, Secretary to the Society.

"DESSAU, Secretary."

(In English in the original.)

"To the President of the Society called the Society for Constitutional Information, (by way of Calais) London."

Thomas Wood (sworn)

Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. Do you know Mr. Frost's hand-writing?

A. Yes; I have seen him write very often.

Q. Look at that paper, and tell me whether you believe it to be Mr. Frost's hand-writing?

A. Yes—I have no doubt about its being his hand-writing.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Paris, Sept. 20th, 1792.

"We arrived safe at this place yesterday to dinner; and, having met with no interruption on our journey, by night or by day, since we left Dover, except delay at Abbeville, Amicus, Clermont, and for want of horses, which the emigrants have wore out. Paris is now quiet, though it was illuminated, and the guards under arms from an apprehension of the people

“ visiting the Temple to destroy Louis and his wife : the latter
 “ braves it, and will to the last ; the former is insensible to his
 “ fate. The night, however, passed over in silence ; and this
 “ evening the Convention will meet, and the National Assembly
 “ take their leave. About three hundred of the present Assembly
 “ are returned to the Convention ; the rest retire with execra-
 “ tions. Mr. Paine made his appearance in the National Assembly
 “ last night, which excited great curiosity among both men and
 “ women, and occasioned no small interruption. The first who
 “ embraced him was Cambon, who last night made a most excellent
 “ speech on the subject of the jewels, plate, &c. found in the churches,
 “ &c. in order to have them melted, as hitherto most infamous use
 “ had been made of them, by pawning them to the Jews, &c. to
 “ raise money for the emigrants. This motion was become the
 “ more necessary, as, a few nights ago, that is, on the morning of
 “ Tuesday, 40 men armed, entered the Thuilleries, and carried off
 “ 30 millions of livres. The gates of Paris have been shut, and
 “ a search made : more than a million has been found. The
 “ treachery of Louis is so great, that the indignation of the people
 “ cannot be wondered at. He has anticipated the civil list a year
 “ and a half, and mortgaged his domains for six years. The
 “ bankers, and others who have advanced the money, will be
 “ ruined. Byde is gone. I will inform myself, between this
 “ and Monday, of every thing that is passing, and by that post
 “ send you a particular account of the 10th, the truth of which is
 “ not yet known in England, or, if known, concealed or mis-
 “ represented to blacken the Revolution. Without the affair of
 “ the 10th, liberty was over. I am sorry to learn that the conduct
 “ of your friend Gen. M—— is not well spoken of. He was
 “ in the Thuilleries all night of the 9th ; and he and Captain
 “ Sampson left about eight o’clock in the morning ; and there is
 “ no doubt but he regulated the troops, and disposed them in
 “ order to attack. His conduct was winked at, out of respect
 “ to the English. He is now with Dumourier’s army, which is
 “ 80,000 strong ; and it is expected that an account will ar-
 “ rive this day of an engagement between him and the Prussians,
 “ as General Kellerman had, by a forced march over the moun-

" tains, joined him when he last wrote; within nine miles of
 " which, the Prussians being informed of his approach, made
 " an attack before the junction, and was repulsed. There are
 " 500,000 troops now upon the frontiers. The language of the
 " King of P—— is changed from that of threats to soothing;
 " and he has artfully endeavoured to persuade the troops, that, as
 " they are unable to defend themselves, and are betrayed by their
 " generals, they had better lay down their arms. Few Prussian
 " deserters have come over; but a great number of Austrians
 " have entered. I have this moment read a letter from General
 " Money, who expects every moment the attack of the Prussians.
 " They have been joined by a great body of Brabanters, who
 " have all along fought with uncommon bravery. The post is
 " going out, and compels me to hasten to a conclusion. We
 " dine to-day with Pethion. Paine has entered his name on the
 " Roll of Parliament, and went through the forms of office with
 " a great deal of non chalance. We are well lodged, and, be-
 " sides our bed-rooms, have an entertaining room for Members
 " to be shewn into: several have called this morning. We are
 " to give 10 livres a day. The Clerk of Parliament has this
 " moment been here—Mr. Rose, a relation of the notorious
 " George Rose. I have nothing more to add, but that Mr.
 " Paine is in good spirits; and indeed the flattering reception
 " he has met with all through France, could not fail of it. It
 " is more than I describe. I believe he is rather fatigued
 " with the kissing. Pethion still retains his popularity. Ro-
 " berspierre has been attacked in the Primary Assembly, and told
 " that he was the most dangerous man in France, and that
 " a good citizen ought to blow his brains out. The English,
 " I understand, shewed great pusillanimity. Tell Vaughan, his
 " friend Losh was, for three or four days before he left the
 " hotel, very uneasy, and thought he should never see England
 " again. Mr. Watt is here, and very civil. "What is become
 " of Dr. Maxwell?" is the cry.

Addressed " *John Horne Tooke, Esq.*" " Always your's,
 " *J. F.*"

Mr. Garrow. Now I will give some account of what these transactions of the 10th of August were, which are stated as necessary to liberty.

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Huskisson. Was you in Paris on the 10th of August, 1792.

A. Yes, I was.

Q. I believe you resided in the house of the British Ambassador, Lord Gower?

A. I did.

Q. Had you been in Paris any time previous to the 10th of August?

A. From the month of July, 1790.

Q. Be so good as to state shortly, what the facts were, which are described as the transactions of the 10th of August, as they relate to transactions at Paris and Versailles, as they fell under your observation.

A. On the 10th of August, I had an opportunity of observing very little, as I did not go out during the contest that took place in the course of that morning.

Q. What was the nature of that which you describe as a contest, which kept you at home?

A. I heard a firing, and I saw smoke. I saw afterwards some of the out-buildings on fire at the Palace; and I saw people running with their arms towards that part of the town.

Q. What did you find had occasioned the firing—from what had it proceeded, the firing of arms, and the firing the buildings?

A. The firing of arms, I understood, proceeded from persons who wished to enter the Palace, and also from those who opposed their entrance.

Q. Was the Palace, at that time, the residence of the King and his family.

A. I believe it was.

Q. Can you describe any other transactions of that day, which came within your knowledge at the moment, or that came within your observation afterwards.

A. I

A. I saw, in the evening of that day, the Governor of the Palace, who came to my lodgings to shelter himself; and he described to me ———

Q. In point of fact, the Governor of the Palace took shelter at your house.

A. He did. I went out in the evening, about nine o'clock, and I attempted ———

Mr. Garrow. I submit to your Lordship, that what the Governor of the Palace said at the time of taking shelter at the house of this English gentleman, is evidence.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Do not let us go into every particular of a transaction at that distance.

Mr. Baron Hotham. It is an history that is pretty publicly known.

Mr. Garrow. You was saying that you went out in the evening.

A. Yes, about nine o'clock. I did not see any thing worth mentioning. I went towards the bridge that leads to the Palace, where I was stopped by some centinels from approaching nearer. I saw the out-buildings of the Palace were then burning.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The whole of it is, that there was a great tumult, a great slaughter, and that the King and his family sheltered themselves at the Convention, and were not restored to their liberty afterwards.

Mr. Garrow. Just so—we are perfectly content to take it so.

Mr. Huskisson. Every body knows that.

Mr. Garrow. I believe every body knows, except the Jury.

Mr. Attorney General. I propose to read two letters, found in the possession of Mr. Horne Tooke, and draughts of two letters in Mr. Tooke's hand-writing.

Mr. William Woodfall.

Examined by *Mr. Attorney General.*

Q. Do you know in whose hand-writing that paper is?

A. I think it, by the character, to be Mr. Tooke's.

Q. Have you seen him write?

A. I have, and believe it to be his, though I did not see him write it.

Q. Look at this paper ?

A. The same hand-writing.

James Thornton (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garraw.*

Q. Look at these four papers—see if you find your name upon these, and whether you seized these ?

A. Upon these two only.

John Thompson (sworn.) Examined by *Mr. Garraw.*

Q. Are you one of his Majesty's Messengers ?

A. No ; I am Clerk to the Public-Office in Lambeth-street, Whitechapel.

Q. Were you present when these papers were found ?

A. Yes ; they were found at Mr. Horne Tooke's house at Wimbledon.

Q. Was that after Mr. Tooke was taken into custody ?

A. Yes, it was,

Q. Where were they found ?

A. Some were found in bureaux, and some in other places,

Q. Who were present when they were found ?

A. Mr. Frost and Mr. Vaughan.

Q. Did they attend as friends of Mr. Tooke ?

A. They did.

Q. You got the keys, and you found these papers ?

A. These two papers (the two not spoken to by Mr. Thornton) are marked by me, as found in the house of Mr. Tooke.

[*Mr. Huskisson delivered into Court, English translations of the French papers.*

Draft of a Letter from Mr. Tooke to the Mayor of Paris,
in Mr. Tooke's Hand-writing.

" SIR,

" You are in no want of friends in England, who ardently
" wish to be useful to French Liberty. But we wish to know
" some one of your friends, who resides in London, in whom you
" have an intire confidence, and to whom we may give our
" money, in the assurance that it will be remitted to you without
" delay,

" delay, and without fraud. Mr. Frost, to whom I entrust this
 " letter, is going to set out immediately with Mr. Paine, for
 " Paris, and allows me no time for ceremony, if it were necessary.
 " I request you to send me the name of some Frenchman, in
 " London; Merchant, or other, for the purpose above mentioned.
 " We can now begin the public contribution towards our pa-
 " triotic gift with £.1000 sterling; and I have no doubt but it
 " will amount in time to several thousands.

" If you consider this step in the same point of view that
 " we do, you will see in it much use to the common cause of
 " England and France. I entreat you to give me your senti-
 " ments on the subject, and to point out to me the means by
 " which I may be useful to you.

" *I. HORNE TOOKE.*"

" BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

" Liberty is a bond which ought to unite all men, and which
 " will one day unite all nations. These are preparing those great
 " revolutions which disseminate useful truths. Thus the philo-
 " sophical societies make all despots tremble. You have the
 " glorious advantage of deserving the hatred of your government.
 " The league of tyrants will never be able to resist the power
 " of reason. Continue your precious labours---employ your-
 " selves in the enfranchisement and the happiness of the human
 " race. You will find in the French, worthy fellow labourers---
 " Honoured by the sentiments which you express for me, re-
 " ceive the assurances of my lively gratitude.

" Your fellow Citizen,

" *PETION,*"

" *6th October, first year of the French Republic,*

" Society of the Friends of the Revolution."

" *Paris, the first of October, 1792,*

" *the first year of the French Republic,*

" I have received, Sir, the letter which you have done me the
 " honour of addressing to me of the 13th ult. in which you
 " announce to me, that we are in no want of friends in England,
 " who,

" who ardently wish to be useful to the French liberty; and
 " that it would be necessary that I should point out to you
 " some person resident in London, intitled to full confidence,
 " and to whom you might remit, in full safety, the funds re-
 " sulting from the patriotic gift which your countrymen are
 " willing to contribute. You cannot, Sir, doubt of my eager-
 " ness to second views so useful, which will for ever merit our
 " gratitude, will rivet the links of fraternity between us, and
 " must produce the greatest advantages to England and France.
 " I shall have the honour, Sir, of sending you, without delay,
 " the name of the person in whose hands you may place the
 " funds which you destine to the support of a cause which,
 " in truth, is that of all people who cherish liberty.

" For the Mayor of Paris,

" *BONCHER RENE, Off. municipi.*"

" Received at Wimbledon, Wednesday, Oct. 9."

Indorsed " 1st October, 1792.---Copy of Letter from Pethion to
 " Tooke."

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" Thirty years ago I travelled in France, when she was
 " enslaved. I received a thousand civilities, and I was chagrined
 " at her destiny. I now come to acquit myself of a small part
 " of my former debt to France, in a state of freedom. I entreat
 " her to accept these 4000 livres, and to apply them to the
 " expences of the war against all the tyrants who have dared, or
 " shall dare, to attempt against her liberty, without excepting
 " any one, were it even of my own country. As to the debt
 " of honour newly contracted as a French citizen, it will be the
 " object of the rest of my life to acquit myself of it faithfully
 " and with zeal."

Indorsed " *Draft of an Address to the President of the French
 " Convention, in Mr. Tooke's own hand-writing.*"

Mr. Attorney General. I now propose to read some entries,
 from the books of the Society for Constitutional Information,
 which

which relate to the speeches of Roland, St. Andre, and Barrere, mentioned in those resolutions, the substance of which I stated to your Lordships and the Jury, yesterday.

They were read.

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, Friday, 18th. January 1793.

" PRESENT,

" Lord Sempill in the Chair.

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Rutt, Mr. John Martin, Captain T. Harwood, Count Zenobio, Mr. Bryant, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Wills, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Reader, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. B. Cooper.

" Resolved,

" That Citizen St. Andre, a member of the National Convention of France, being considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened friends, of human Liberty, be admitted an associated Honorary Member of this Society.

Resolved,

" That the said Resolution be published in the papers.

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 25th. January, 1793.

PRESENT,

Mr. Jennings in the Chair.

" Lord Sempill, Capt. Tooke Harwood, Mr. Bonney, Mr. W. Sharp, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Hull, Mr. Bryant, Mr. John Martin, Mr. H. Tooke, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Turnbull, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Chalk, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. White, Mr. Chatfield.

" Resolved,

" That Citizen Barrere, a member of the National Convention
" of

" of France, being considered by us as one of the most judicious
 " and enlightened friends, of human Liberty, be admitted an
 " associated honorary member of this Society.

" Resolved, That the said Resolution be published in the
 " News-papers.

" Resolved, That Citizen Roland, being also considered by
 " us as one of the most judicious and enlightened friends of hu-
 " man Liberty, be admitted an associated honorary member of
 " this Society.

" Resolved, That the said Resolution be published in the new-
 " papers."

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
 " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 1st. of
 " February, 1793.

PRESENT,

Mr. Fitzgerald in the Chair.

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Wills, Mr. Cooper, (Manchester)

" Lord Sempill, Dr. Kentish, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Hull, Mr.

" John Martin, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Banks, Mr. Jennings,

" Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Miller, Mr.

" G. Williams, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Wardle, Mr. B.

" Cooper, Capt. T. Harwood.

" Read, a Circular Letter from the Sheffield Society for Consti-
 " tutional Information.

" Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to report an answer.

" Resolved, That Mr. Tooke, Lord Sempill, Mr. Holcroft,

" Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Cooper, (Manchester)

" Dr. Kentish, and Capt. Harwood, be the Committee.

" Resolved, That the said Committee, meet at half past three
 " o'clock on Friday next, at this place.

" Resolved, That the speeches of Citizen St. André, and Citi-
 " zen Barrere, (associated Honorary members of this Society) as
 " given in the Gazette Nationale ou Moniteur Universelle, of
 " Paris, on the 4th, 6th, and 7th, of January 1793, be inserted
 " in the books of this Society.

" Resolved, That the said Resolution be published in the
 " News-papers.

Mr.

Mr. Garrow to Mr. Huskisson. During your residence in Paris, and after you came to this country, was you in the habit of seeing the paper called the *Moniteur Universelle*.

A. I was.

Q. Look at these printed papers and say, whether from their appearance you take them, to be the French papers of those dates.

A. They have every appearance of being similar to those which I took in, while at Paris, and afterwards in London.

Joseph Deboffe (Sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. You are I understand a Bookseller.

A. Yes.

Q. Where is your shop!

A. In Gerrard-street Soho.

Q. Your shop was chiefly employed in selling foreign publications I believe?

A. Yes, and not only foreign publications, but all sorts of works, and as to the news-papers which I sold, they were the same that came through the channel of the post office, and by others.

Q. You sold French news-papers.

A. Yes.

Q. And these French news-papers came by the channel, of the post from France, and by the channel of private conveyance.

A. Great part of them came from Paris, by the Packet, then sent to Millet and Fector, and then forwarded by the mail coach. I received no papers, but what were duly opened at the Custom House at Dover?

Q. You are a native of France, I perceive!

A. No, I beg your pardon, I am a native of Switzerland.

Q. You are acquainted with the French language.

A. Yes.

Q. You probably have had many thousand French news-papers pass through your hands?

A. I have.

Q. Whether you are acquainted with that paper the *Nationale Gazette*, or *Universelle Moniteur*?

A Per-

A. Perfectly well, I have had a great many of them.

Q. Did you ever know of any of these French papers with the French titles, and in that shape, reprinted in England?

A. I have never known it.

Q. From the paper, from the type, and from the general appearance of these papers which you hold in your hand, comparing them with the recollection of those which passed through your hand, in the way of your trade, do you believe these to be the French *Moniteur*, published in France, and conveyed to this Country, in the way you have stated?

A. Perfectly so, and more than that, there are many connections in London, through which the veracity of this, might be compared.

Q. We are not permitted to compare them with others; is that French paper, and is it printed with French types?

A. It is the real Paris paper, printed in Paris by Mr. Pilnewood, who is the proprietor of it. I have received them immediately from Mr. Pilnewood's own hands.

Mr. Attorney General. Then I offer to your Lordship the evidence of these three papers, one dated the 4th, another the 6th, and another the 7th of January, 1793, upon the evidence now given, which contain speeches of Citizen St. Andre, and Citizen Barrere.

Mr. Erskine. If your Lordship thinks these papers may be taken as evidence, I have no interest in disputing it, I only wish to have the sanction of the Court; I am not anxious about it.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I think it is a reasonable evidence of their being what they are described.

Mr. Huskisson delivered into Court English Translations of Extracts from the said Papers.

Mr. Erskine. Is there the whole of it?

Mr. Attorney General. No; only extracts.

Mr. Huskisson. The reading the whole would take up full two hours.

The Extracts read.

“ Extract from the speech of Jean Bon St. André, taken from the *Moniteur* of the 4th of January, 1793.

“ TRANSLATION;

“ TRANSLATION.

“ If you have to decide on the fate of Louis, it is because
 “ you are a Revolutionary Assembly, created by the French
 “ Nation, in a state of insurrection.”

“ Extracts from the speech of Barrere, taken from the Moni-
 “ teurs of the 6th and 7th of January, 1793.

“ TRANSLATION.

“ The question submitted to your deliberation is of the
 “ highest importance to public order, of the greatest difficulty
 “ in Legislation; of the utmost delicacy in Politics, absolutely
 “ necessary to Liberty, and connected with whatever is held most
 “ sacred by the nation.—The calmness which has prevailed in
 “ the deliberations, for some days past, forbodes that it will be
 “ decided according to justice and reason.—It will not escape
 “ history, this contrast between Kings, who often, amidst the
 “ dissipation of Courts, signed proscriptions, or the death warrant,
 “ of a thousand Citizens; and the representatives of the people,
 “ who deliberate with wisdom and caution on the punishment of
 “ a single Despot.—It is the destiny of Kings to be the occasion
 “ of the calamities of the people, whether they remain on their
 “ thrones, or whether they are precipitated from them.”

“ The people of Paris, by making an holy insurrection
 “ against him, (the King) on the 10th of August, deprived him
 “ of his character of Inviolability.—The people of the other
 “ Departments applauded this insurrection, and adopted the re-
 “ sult of it.—The people have, therefore, already interposed to
 “ destroy the Royal Inviolability.—Louis was invested by the
 “ tacit consent of the people, with a Constitutional Inviolability;
 “ their tacit consent has deprived him of the same, and is there-
 “ fore as lawful as the grant of it.—The Inviolability of the
 “ King cannot be absolute; it is only relative, and for the end
 “ of maintaining the Independence of the Constituted Au-
 “ thorities.”

“ The

" The People is the Sovereign.

" A Convention differs from a Legislature in this respect:
 " a Legislature is only a species of superintending Magistracy;
 " a Moderator of the Powers of Government: a Convention,
 " on the contrary, is a representation of the Sovereign.---The
 " Members of the Legislative Assembly acted, in August, upon
 " these principles; and they declared, in their account of their
 " motives for calling a National Convention, that they saw but
 " one measure which could save France; namely, to have re-
 " course to the supreme will of the people, and to invite the
 " people to exercise immediately that inalienable right of So-
 " vereignty, which the Constitution had acknowledged, and
 " which it could not subject to any restriction.---The public
 " interest required, that the will of the people should be mani-
 " fested in the opinion of a National Convention, formed of
 " representatives, invested by the people with unlimited powers.
 " The will of the people is manifested by the opinion of this
 " Convention.—The Convention being assembled, is itself that
 " Sovereign Will which ought to prevail.—It would be con-
 " trary to every principle, if the expression of the general will
 " did not reside in the Convention alone.

" You are the Representatives of the Nation, which relies
 " upon you for taking every measure of public safety, necessary
 " to establish and secure Liberty, and to proscribe tyranny,
 " against which the nation has formed an holy insurrection.

" It is Despotism when, in the ordinary and permanent
 " establishment of a Government, there is no separation of
 " powers.—But is it not the very essence of a Constituent Body
 " to concentrate, for the time being, all authority?---Is it not the
 " very nature of a National Convention to be the temporary
 " image of the nation; to unite, in itself, all the powers of Go-
 " vernment, to employ them against the enemies of Liberty, and
 " to distribute them in a new social compact, called a Con-
 " stitution?—Behold that Constituent Assembly, which, though
 " abominably calumniated at present, laid (in spite of the shame-
 " ful revision of the laws) the first foundation of your Liberty.
 " Behold it alone, with its Revolutionary Genius; it broke
 " through

" through every impediment, exceeded its delegated authority,
 " created its own powers, according to the exigencies of Liberty,
 " and to the wants of the people; destroyed all prejudices by the
 " force of that public opinion to which it gave birth, obliterated
 " all privileges, abolished all Parliaments, changed the form of all
 " property, as well as the sign of all value, and made a perjured
 " King its prisoner.----Nothing was wanting to immortalize
 " that Assembly, but to have delivered France from the calamity
 " of Kingly Government, and to have relieved you from the
 " duty of judging the last of your Kings.

" Invested, from your origin, with the most unlimited con-
 " fidence by your fellow Citizens, you hesitate in the first
 " step.

" Am I then no longer in the midst of that National Con-
 " vention, whose honourable mission it was to destroy Kings
 " and Royalty."

Mr. Erskine. I wish it to be understood, that these Gen-
 tlemen are speaking in their place, as Members of the National
 Assembly in France.

Mr. Attorney General. I will explain the view with which
 I offer it.

Mr. Erskine. You stated it very particularly in your
 opening.

Mr. Attorney General. You see they are now speaking in
 their places, in the National Assembly in France.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. It is hardly worth debating; the
 purpose is so obvious, that it is impossible to be misunder-
 stood.

*The following Entry was read from the Books of the Society
 for Constitutional Information.*

" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
 " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 15th
 " February, 1793.

VOL. II.

G

" PRESENT,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Reader in the Chair.

" Mr. Frost, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Symonds,
 " Mr. Martin, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Banks,
 " Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. I. Williams, Capt. T. Harwood, Mr.
 " Moore, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Balmanno.

" Read the following letter from the Society for Constitutional
 " Information, at Birmingham, requesting, that twelve of their
 " members may be admitted associated members of this society.

" Birmingham, Feb. 6th, 1793.

" Friends and Fellow Citizens,

" The members of the Society for Constitutional Information,
 " established at this place Nov. 20th, 1792, take the opportunity
 " to lay before you our printed address and declaration, and our
 " rules and orders, which we have adopted from the Sheffield
 " Society, for our internal government.—And to shew our jus-
 " tice, our moderation, and love to all mankind, we desire your
 " advice and assistance, that the general mind of our society may
 " be formed unanimously to the best and most likely mode of
 " obtaining our long-lost rights as men free born, and as citizens
 " by universal incorporation.

" The interested and bigotted supporters of the exploded sys-
 " tem of corruption, are continually throwing obstacles in the
 " way of all reform, and threaten us with rigorous prosecution,
 " and exhibit all the engines of power and tyranny before us, for
 " meeting to investigate the laws of our country, and endea-
 " vouring to obtain, in a legal and peaceable manner, the birth-
 " right of every Briton, viz. an equal representation of the peo-
 " ple in parliament: notwithstanding which, numbers daily
 " flock to the standard of liberty. We are determined, in spite
 " of all base opposition, to persevere as we have begun in the
 " good cause, till we have obtained the desirable end, a Redress
 " of our Grievances.

" We sincerely think the cause is of God, and that it would
 " go on without our interference; but who can stand by an idle
 " spectator,

" spectator, and see our fellow-men struggling for us in the cause
" of liberty, and not have a wish to lend a helping hand in the hu-
" mane and Godlike work.

" We ardently and sincerely desire to become instrumental in
" so good and great a work, the cause of liberty, and of all man-
" kind, both present and future.

" The grateful thanks of our society are given to Mr. Horne
" Tooke, Major Cartwright, Mr. Erskine, and the rest of the
" members of the Constitutional Society for Information in Lon-
" don, for their firm and manly support and perseverance in our
" common cause of liberty and good-will to all mankind, and
" their steady purpose to obtain an effectual reform in the Legis-
" lative House of the People, the Commons House of Parlia-
" ment.

" Our society requests the favour of your admitting the fol-
" lowing twelve persons, whose names are subscribed, to be in-
" rolled members of your society, for the purpose of correspond-
" ing with yours, and every other similar institution in the na-
" tion, for the better regulating our measures, and receiving in-
" struction.

" Wishing you all the success your laudable undertaking de-
" serves, we are, with sincerity,

" Your Fellow Citizens and Friends,

" (Signed)

" John Meer,	David Blair,
" John Kilmister,	Thomas Clark,
" George Hill, sen.	Timmins Nevill,
" John Kenrick,	William Beard,
" James Davy,	Thomas Hill,
" James Luckcock,	Benjamin Smith.

" Direct to George Hill, opposite the Fountain, Lower Tem-
" ple-street, or to John Kenrick, Grocer, Colmore-row.

" To Mr. D. Adams, Secretary to
" the Society for Constitutional
" Information.

" Resolved, That the twelve members of the Birmingham Society for Constitutional Information, recommended in the said letter, be admitted associated members of this society.

" Resolved, That the said letter, and the election of the said twelve members, be published in the news-papers, exclusive of their names."

Mr. Garraw. I propose now to read the answer of the Birmingham Society, dated 25th March, 1793, to this communication of the Constitutional Society.

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found this letter among Mr. Adams's papers.

It was read.

" Sir,

" Birmingham, March 25th, 1793.

" At the request of the Society for Constitutional Information, I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter; whereby it appears, that your society have acceded to our request, by electing the persons, whose names you were furnished with, as associated members in your society; for which we beg you to accept our united thanks and best wishes, that your society may go on to accumulate a mass of true patriots, whose principles may not be subverted by interest, or conquered by fear.

" This society offers with gratitude their thanks and commendations to Horne Tooke, Esq. for the present accompanying your letter, but more particularly for his zeal in the cause of freedom, which cannot be promoted but by the free use of the press, which we trust will never be restrained from Britons. Another letter accompanies this, containing a few particulars, which we doubt not you will peruse with pleasure. Will write you further on that subject shortly.

" I am, &c.

No Signature.

" _____ Sec."

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Society for Constitutional Information.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Friday 15th March, 1793.

" PRE-

" PRESENT,

" Capt. Tooke Harwood in the Chair.

" Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Martin, Mr.

" Fazackerly, Count Zehobio, Mr. Sharp, Mr. J. Williams,

" Mr. Bonney, Mr. Symonds, Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. Holcroft,

" Mr. Swainson, Mr. Banks, Lord Sempill, Mr. Wills, Mr.

" Parkinson, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Frost, Mr. G. Williams.

**" Read a letter from the Constitutional Society, at Sheffield,
" inclosing their resolutions of the 13th of February last.**

**" Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to return the
" thanks of this society to the Society for Constitutional Infor-
" mation, at Sheffield, for their communication, and to acquaint
" them, that this society perfectly agree with them in their sen-
" timents with respect to the calamities of war in general; and
" that they concur with them in thinking, that the thanks of the
" community at large are due to all those who have exerted
" themselves to prevent the present war.**

**" Ordered, That the treasurer repay to Mr. Frost sixty livres,
" paid by him at Paris, for the translation of two addresses to
" the National Convention of France.**

**" Resolved, That the thanks of this society be given to Joel
" Barlow and John Frost, for their conduct in the presentation
" of the address of this society to the National Convention of
" France; and that Mr. Frost be assured, that our regard for
" him is not lessened, but increased by the prosecutions and per-
" secutions which his faithful and due discharge of that commission
" may bring upon him.**

**" Ordered, That this resolution be published in the news-
" papers.**

**" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 22d
" March, 1793,**

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Symonds in the Chair,

" Mr. Frost, Mr. Hull, Count Zehobio, Mr. Tooke, Mr.

" Wills, Lord Sempill, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Satch-

“ ell, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Aufell, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Bal-
 “ manno, Capt. T. Harwood, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. J. Wil-
 “ liams; Dr. Kentish, Mr. Margat, Mr. Hardy.
 “ Read a letter from the United Political Societies of Nor-
 “ wich.
 “ Resolved, That the consideration of the said letter be post-
 “ poned till the next meeting.”

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found this paper in Mr. Adams's
 house.

It was read.

“ The United Political Societies of Norwich.

“ Gentlemen,

March 5th, 1793.

“ It is with peculiar satisfaction we are favoured with your
 “ correspondence (not merely because you are so, although you
 “ are better fitted to diffuse knowledge) but because you are em-
 “ barked in the same magnanimous cause, which demands with
 “ alacrity the attention of every individual; and it is with the ut-
 “ most regret we see so many, either from ignorance, or some-
 “ thing worse, who are inimical to their own interest; for no-
 “ thing contributes so much to support the oppressor, as the
 “ ignorance of the oppressed; for which purpose the flood-gates
 “ have been opened gradually, till, by degrees, the streams of
 “ corruption have nearly overflowed the land: such as bounty
 “ acts, borrowing, qualification, and septennial acts, besides
 “ standing armies, excise and tything laws, with various others
 “ too painful for reflection, without credit to the framers thereof,
 “ and without advantage to society. We do not presume to re-
 “ capitulate these abuses for your information, but being too ex-
 “ perimentally acquainted with them, we wish to find out a me-
 “ thod of redress. At present we see a great propriety in univer-
 “ sal suffrage, and annual elections, but we beg you will be
 “ obliging enough to inform us of what you have collected of the
 “ sense of the people by your correspondents. We have to in-
 “ form you, that our worthy Corresponding Societies of London,
 “ have recently submitted three propositions for our investigation.

“ First,

" First, whether a Petition to Parliament, or an Address to the King, or a Convention.

" Permit us briefly to state our views for your revival; and with respect to the first, we behold we are a conquered people. We have tamely submitted to the galling yoke, and resistance in the present circumstances is vain. We cannot act the man, and as necessity has no law, we think ourselves under that degrading necessity to state our grievances to the House of Commons, with a request for redress; and should they refuse to grant our reasonable petition, we have still got (no thanks to them) a formidable engine, that will convey the insult to the remotest parts of the kingdom. As to the propriety of the second, we wish to submit to your superior judgment, and should esteem it a favour to be informed of the result; for at present we are dubious of its good consequences. Lastly, a Convention, and oh! that the period were arrived!—but in the present state of affairs, alas! it's impracticable: yet this is the object we pursue, and esteem any other means only in subordination to, and as having a tendency to accomplish that desirable end.

" We wish to be in unison with our brethren and fellow-labourers, and should be glad of any information as soon as it is convenient: and we beg your advice, whether it is necessary, as soon as possible, to collect signatures to a petition for a real representation of the people, and by whom to present it, whether Mr. Coke, Mr. Burch, or any of the friends of the people; and whether it is attended with any expence. *Our members are both inimical to the business.*

" We can give you no accurate statement of the representation in our neighbourhood, only observe, that it is equally farcical here as elsewhere. To conclude, with united th— for all favours received, wishing you h— and success, and may Heaven avert—

" We subscribe ourselves, Gentlemen,

" Your very obliged humble Servants,

(Signed)

" J. BROUGHTON.

- " Note. Please to direct to J. Broughton, St. Mary's Church,
" Mr. Blake being no longer our secretary.
" We have between thirty and forty separate societies in Nor-
" wich, besides many in the country villages.
" Mr. D. Adams, No. 4, Tooke's Court,
" Chancery-lane, London.
-

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 29th
" March, 1793,

" PRESENT,

- " Capt. Tooke Harwood in the Chair.
" Mr. Symonds, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Hull, Mr. Martin, Lord
" Sempill, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Frost, Rev. Mr.
" Joyce, Mr. Gay, Mr. I. Williams, Mr. G. Williams, Mr.
" Holcroft, Mr. Banks.

" Resolved, That the consideration of the letter from the
" United Political Societies of Norwich, be deferred till next
" meeting."

Mr. Garraw. At the meeting of the 22d of March, the con-
sideration of this letter was postponed; it was postponed at the
next meeting; and at the next meeting it is again postponed,
which shews the deliberation required for preparing the answer.

*The following Entries were read from the Books of the Constituti-
onal Society.*

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 5th
" April, 1793.

" PRESENT,

- " Capt. Tooke Harwood in the Chair,
" Mr. Tuffin, Lord Daer, Mr. Frost, Mr. Aufell, Mr. Bonney,
" Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Martin, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Tooke,
" Mr. Kydd, Mr. Hull, Mr. Moore, Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. I.
" Williams,

“ Williams, Mr. I. Cooper, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Balmanno, Lord
“ Sempill, Mr. Wills.

“ Resolved, That the consideration of the letter from the
“ United Political Societies of Norwich, be postponed till the
“ next meeting; and that Mr. Frost be requested to prepare an
“ answer.

“ Resolved, That a letter be written to Simon Butler and
“ Oliver Bond, Esqrs. expressive of the high sense we entertain
“ of their exertions in the cause of freedom, and to assure them,
“ that we consider the imprisonment they at present suffer on that
“ account, as illegal and unconstitutional.

“ The following letter was produced and read.

“ To S. Butler and O. Bond, Esqrs.

“ Gentlemen,

“ It is not easy for men, who feel strongly and sincerely, to
“ convey those feelings by letter. We therefore rely on your
“ conceiving for us much of that which we are unable to express
“ to you. We think, however, that we shall be guilty of a
“ great omission, did we neglect the opportunity of sending you
“ by Mr. Hamilton Rowan, the honest tribute of our esteem
“ and admiration, for your brave and manly resistance to the
“ usurped jurisdiction of the Irish aristocracy.

“ Permit us to offer you our thanks, and our grateful ac-
“ knowledgment of your efforts, in what we consider as a com-
“ mon cause, while we lament our inability of proving ourselves
“ useful in your defence. Although we are of different king-
“ doms, still we are but one people; and as the freedom of one
“ continent has spread its influence to Europe, so on the other
“ hand, we are persuaded, that the establishment of despotism in
“ Ireland, must end in the slavery of Great Britain. But the
“ light of liberty is not confined to one shore, or one latitude.

“ We know that it is easier to admire than to practise those
“ virtues that tend to the public benefit.

“ Yet so long as the exertions of a few courageous men must
“ influence the minds of at least the independent and thinking
“ part of the community, we are assured that their labour is not
“ fruitless

“ fruitless. We trust, therefore, the time will soon arrive,
 “ when the abuse of power in either nation, will have no other
 “ consequence than the ruin of those who have committed that
 “ injustice. We hope, and we doubt not of soon seeing the day,
 “ when the post of honour shall be no longer that of obloquy
 “ and punishment; but when those who have risked their liberty
 “ and fortune in the cause of their countrymen, may find protec-
 “ tion in the undisputed, uninterrupted exercise of trial by jury,
 “ with a full and adequate representation of the people in parlia-
 “ ment.

“ Resolved, That the said letter be signed by the chairman
 “ and secretary; and that Mr. Hamilton Rowan be requested to
 “ convey the same to Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond.”

“ At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
 “ held Friday 12th April, 1793, at the Crown and Anchor Ta-
 “ vern, Strand,

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. Christopher Hull in the Chair.

“ Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. I. Williams, Mr.
 “ Parkinson, Mr. Frost, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Campbell, Mr.
 “ Martin, Mr. Reader, Mr. Gay, Mr. Vaughan, as one of
 “ the Committee of French Subscription, Mr. Banks, Lord
 “ Daer, Capt. Harwood, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Holcroft, Mr.
 “ Hardy, Mr. Chatfield.

“ Mr. Frost read an answer (directed to be prepared by
 “ him) to the letter received from the United Political Societies
 “ in Norwich.

“ Resolved, that the said answer be sent by the secretary to the
 “ secretary of the said societies.”

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found this paper at Mr. Adams's.

It was read.

“ Sir,

“ We have to acknowledge, with great satisfaction, the letter
 “ which you favoured us with, dated the 5th instant, relative to

" the most desirable of all other objects, the reform of our par-
 " liamentary representation. The honour you do us in supposing
 " that we are better fitted than yourselves for the promotion of
 " political knowledge, we must disclaim; because we observe,
 " with the greatest pleasure, that our country correspondents
 " have too much zeal and information to want success in their
 " public endeavours, whether at Norwich, at Sheffield, at Man-
 " chester, or elsewhere throughout the nation. In our sincerity
 " for the good of our country, we trust that we are all equal;
 " and as such we doubt not of our ultimate success.

" We see with sorrow the existence of those evils, which you
 " so justly represent as the streams of corruption overflowing
 " this once free and prosperous country. We see with surprise
 " and abhorrence, that men are to be found both able and wil-
 " ling to support those corruptions. It is however no small con-
 " solation to find, that others are not wanting in every part of
 " the nation of an opposite character, who are ready to remedy,
 " by all laudable and honourable means, the defect in our repre-
 " sentation, the usurped extension of the duration of parliaments,
 " and other grievances such as you notice in your letter.

" That the constitution of England has no more of that cha-
 " racter it once possessed; that the supposed democracy of the
 " country has become a matter of property and privilege; and
 " that we have therefore no longer that mixt government which
 " our adversaries are praising, when they know it is no longer in
 " our possession, are facts notorious and indisputable. Where
 " then are we to look for the remedy? To that parliament of
 " which we complain?—To the executive power, which is im-
 " plicitly obeyed, if not anticipated in that parliament?—Or to
 " ourselves, represented in some meeting of delegates, for the
 " especial purpose of reform, which we suppose you understand
 " by the term, CONVENTION?

" It is the end of each of these propositions that we ought to
 " look to; and as success in a good cause must be the effect of
 " perseverance, and the rising reason of the time, let us deter-
 " mine with coolness, but let us persevere with decision. As to
 " a Convention, we regard it as a plan the most desirable and
 " most

" most practicable, so soon as the great body of the people shall
 " be courageous and virtuous enough to join us in the attempt.
 " Hitherto we have no reason to believe that the moment is ar-
 " rived for that purpose. As to any petition to the crown, we
 " believe it hopeless in its consequences. With respect to the
 " last of your proposals, we are at a loss to advise. If the event
 " is looked to in the vote which may be obtained from that body
 " to whom the petition is to be addressed, which of us can look
 " to it without the prospect of an absolute negative? In this
 " point of view, therefore, it cannot require a moment's consi-
 " deration. But if we regard the *policy* of such a petition, it
 " may, in our apprehension, be well worth considering as a
 " warning voice to our present legislators, and as a signal for
 " imitation to the majority of the people. Should such a plan be
 " vigorously and generally pursued, it would hold out a certainty
 " to our fellow-countrymen, that we are not a handful of indivi-
 " duals unworthy of attention or consideration, who desire the
 " restoration of the antient liberties of England; but, on the
 " contrary, it might bring into light that host of well-meaning
 " men, who in the different towns and counties of this realm are
 " silently but seriously anxious for reformation in the govern-
 " ment. We exhort you with anxiety to pursue your laudable
 " endeavours for the common good, and never to despair of the
 " public cause.

No Address. " We are, &c."

Mr. Garrow. My Lord, from the contents of this paper, we
 state it to be the draft of a letter prepared by Mr. Frost, referred
 to in the last resolution read.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You have given no evidence of the
 hand-writing of this paper.

Mr. Garrow. No, I have not. I produce it merely as be-
 ing found in the possession of Adams, the secretary to the So-
 ciety for Constitutional Information. I will now put into
 court the letter actually sent, which was found in the possession
 of the secretary to the Norwich Society. It is dated, " Society
 for Constitutional Information, London, 15th April, 1793,
 signed by order, in the name of the Society for Constitutional

Information, D. Adams, Secretary," and addressed " Mr. I. Broughton, Secretary to the United Political Societies, Norwich."

" Society for Constitutional Information.

" London, 15th April, 1793.

" Sir,

" We have to acknowledge with great satisfaction the letter which you favoured us with, dated the 5th instant, relative to the most desirable of all other objects, the reform of a parliamentary representation. The honour you do us in supposing that we are better fitted than yourselves for the promotion of political knowledge, we must disclaim; because we observe with the greatest pleasure, that our country correspondents have too much zeal and information to want success in their public endeavours, whether at Norwich, at Sheffield, at Manchester, or elsewhere throughout the nation.

" In our sincerity for the good of our country, we trust, that we are all equal, and as such we doubt not of our ultimate success.

" We see with sorrow the existence of those evils, which you so justly represent as the streams of corruption overflowing this once free and prosperous country. We see with surprise and abhorrence, that men are to be found both able and willing to support those corruptions. It is however no small consolation to find, that others are not wanting in every part of the nation of an opposite character, who are ready to remedy, by all laudable and honourable means, the defect in our representation, the usurped extension of the duration of parliaments, and other grievances such as you notice in your letter.

" That the constitution of England has no more of that character it once possessed, that the supposed democracy of the country has become a matter of property and *privilege*, and that we have therefore no longer that mixed government which our adversaries are praising, when they know it is no longer in our possession, are facts notorious and indisputable. Where
" then

“ then are we to look for the remedy? To that parliament of
 “ which we complain? To the executive power which is impli-
 “ citly obeyed, if not anticipated in that parliament? Or to our-
 “ selves, represented in some meeting of delegates for the especial
 “ purpose of reform, which we suppose you understand by the
 “ word CONVENTION?

“ It is the end of each of these propositions that we ought to
 “ look to; and as success in a good cause must be the effect of
 “ perseverance, and the rising reason of the time, let us deter-
 “ mine with coolness, but let us persevere with decision.

“ As to a Convention, we regard it as a plan the most desira-
 “ ble and most practicable, so soon as the great body of the peo-
 “ ple shall be courageous and virtuous enough to join us in the
 “ attempt. Hitherto we have no reason to believe that the mo-
 “ ment is arrived for that purpose. As to any petition to the
 “ crown, we believe it hopeless in its consequences. With re-
 “ spect to the last of your proposals, we are at a loss to advise.
 “ If the event is looked to in the vote which may be obtained
 “ from that body to whom the petition is to be addressed, which
 “ of us can look to it without the prospect of an absolute nega-
 “ tive? In this point of view therefore it cannot require a mo-
 “ ment's consideration. But if we regard the *policy* of such a
 “ petition, it may, in our apprehension, be well worth considering
 “ as a warning voice to our present legislators, and as a signal for
 “ imitation to the majority of the people. Should such a plan be
 “ vigorously and generally pursued, it would hold out a certainty
 “ to our fellow-countrymen, that we are not a handful of indi-
 “ viduals unworthy of attention or consideration, who desire the
 “ restoration of the ancient liberties of England; but, on the
 “ contrary, it might bring into light that host of well-meaning
 “ men, who in the different towns and counties of this realm are
 “ silently but seriously anxious for a reformation in the govern-
 “ ment.

“ We exhort you with anxiety to pursue your laudable endea-
 “ vours for the common good, and never to despair of the public
 “ cause.

“ Signed

" Signed by order, in the name of the Society for Constitutional Information,

" Took's Court, 16th

" D. ADAMS, Sec.

" April, 1793.

Addressed. "*Mr. I. Broughton, Secretary to the United Political Societies, Norwich.*"

Mr. James Walsh (sworn). Examined by Mr. Garraw.

Q. Did you execute any warrant for the purpose of apprehending Mr. Isaac Saint, at Norwich, the Secretary of the Constitutional Society there?

A. I did not; but I was present when it was executed.

Q. Did you see any papers seized?

A. I seized them myself.

Q. Did you put your name upon them?

A. I did.

Q. Is this one of the papers you seized there?

A. It is.

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Society for Constitutional Information.

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 25th October 1793.

" PRESENT,

Mr. Bryant—in the chair.

" Count Zenobio, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Alexander Wills Mr. Holcroft, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Special, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Aufell, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Martin, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Hull, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Benjamin Cooper.

" Mr. Sinclair read a letter, with an address from Mr. Skirving Secretary to the Convention, of the Friends of the People in Scotland, to Mr. Hardy, Secretary to the London Corresponding Society.

" Resolved,

* Resolved, That an extraordinary General Meeting of this
 " Society be called for Monday next at the Crown and Anchor
 " Tavern, at six o'clock in the Evening, to consider of the
 " utility, and propriety of sending Delegates to a Convention of
 " Delegates of the different Societies, in Great Britain, to be held
 " at Edinburgh, for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary
 " Reform.

" Resolved, That the substance of the motion be inserted in
 " the letter.

Mr. Garraw. Before the next entry is read, perhaps it will be convenient that I should put in the original draft of these instructions, as there are several material alterations.

Mr. Daniel Adams. Examined by *Mr. Garraw.*

Q. Look at that Letter, and state whether that is your signature.

A. It is.

Q. In whose hand writing is the letter?

A. My own.

Q. The whole of it is in your own hand writing.

A. Yes.

Q. Look at this other paper, are these the Instructions, which were originally prepared for the Delegates upon which your entry is afterwards made?

A. I cannot take upon me to say that, from the length of time.

Q. This was found among your papers we have heard.

A. Yes.

Q. What do you take that paper to be?

A. I should not know it but from my own hand writing, at the bottom—I should not know it to be the same otherwise.

Q. Look at it—Do you believe it to be an original minute, prepared for the purpose of being transcribed into the book of the Society.—

A. I don't know it for any other reason—here are a vast many interlineations which I cannot bring to my recollection at all.

Q. It was a paper you was afterwards to transcribe into your book?

A. It

A. It appears like a paper I was to transcribe, there are a great many interlineations in it.

Mr. Erskine. Can you venture to give any thing like a distinct account of how that paper came to be so interlined as it is now?

A. I cannot.

Mr. Erskine. Nor can you tell whether that was given to you for the purposes of insertion, but that it was so obliterated that you was obliged to make another copy.

A. That I cannot tell.

Mr. Garrow. Supposing that paper to agree with your fair transcript, should you believe then, that that is the paper which you transcribed fairly into the minute?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. That is reasoning him into a belief; if he has any recollection upon the subject very well; if he has not you must not argue him into a belief of it.—This is a paper which purports to be a rough draft of Instructions, with considerable interlineations, and the paper that is in the book, corresponds with the draught so interlined—there let it stand.—Do you know the hand writing of the interlineations?

A. I do not.

[*The Instructions read,*]

“ At an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Society for
“ Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor
“ Tavern, Strand, Monday 28th October 1793.

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. Sinclair in the Chair.

“ Mr. Satchell, Mr. Martin, Mr. Special, Mr. Parkinson, Mr.

“ Mr. J. T. Rutt, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Wills,

“ Mr. Richter, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Faw-

“ cett, Mr. Margarot, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Wardle, Mr.

“ Jennings, Mr. Holcroft.

“ Read, addresses to the Friends of the People of Parliamen-
“ tary Reform, signed by Mr. Skirving, Secretary to the
“ General Convention at Edinburgh.

“ Resolved, That this Society do send Delegates to the ensuing
“ Convention, to be held in Edinburgh, for promoting a Reform
“ in Parliament.

“ Resolved, That two members of this Society, be elected as
“ Delegates to the said Convention.

“ Henry Yorke, Charles Sinclair, and John Richter, were
“ proposed.

“ Resolved, That the said Gentlemen be now ballotted for.
“ The Society proceeded to ballot accordingly, when Charles
“ Sinclair, and Henry Yorke, were elected.

“ Mr. Sinclair being present, accepted of the said office of
“ one of the Delegates.

“ Resolved, That should either Henry Yorke, or Charles Sin-
“ clair, be prevented from accepting the delegation to the Con-
“ vention of Delegates at Edinburgh, John Richter be ap-
“ pointed to fulfil that office.

“ Resolved, That John Williams be requested to obtain the
“ necessary information of Henry Yorke, and communicate it
“ to the Secretary.

“ Mr. Sinclair being requested to quit the Chair,

“ Resolved, That Mr. Fitzgerald be called to take the
“ chair.

“ Resolved, That the Secretary do deliver to the Delegates,
“ appointed by this Society to represent them in the Convention
“ at Edinburgh, copies of the proceedings of the 25th. and 28th.
“ instant, by which they are appointed to that office.

Instructions to the Delegates.

“ The Delegates are instructed, on the part of this Society, to
“ assist in bringing forward and supporting any constitutional
“ measures for procuring a real representation of the Commons
“ of Great Britain, in Parliament. That in specifying the re-
“ dress to be demanded of existing abuses the Delegates ought
“ never to lose sight of the two essential principles, General Suf-
“ frage and Annual Representation, together with the unalien-
“ able right in the people to reform, and that a reasonable and
“ known compensation ought to be made to the representatives of
“ the nation, by a national contribution.

“ That the Delegates do punctually correspond with the So-
“ ciety, for the purpose of communicating information, and of
“ re-

“ receiving such farther instructions as the exigency may require.

“ Resolved, That the above be the directions to the Delegates.

“ Resolved, That seven guineas be allowed to each of the Delegates, for travelling, and a sum not exceeding three guineas per week, each, be allowed them during the sitting of the Convention of Delegates, and that a subscription be now opened for that purpose, and that the secretary be requested to receive the same.

“ Resolved, That the proceedings of Friday, the 25th. and Monday, 28th. October 1793, be signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

“ Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to write to the different Societies with which this Society is in correspondence, informing them that the London Corresponding Society, together with this Society, have elected Delegates to the Convention of Delegates, to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th inst. and to request their concurrence to this important measure.”

[*Mr. Garraw pointed out to the Court, the variations between the rough draught, and the instructions as finally adopted.*]

Copy of the rough draft.

“ The Delegates are instructed on the part of this Society, to assist in bringing forward any petition or petitions to the House of Commons, for the purpose of procuring an enquiry in the said House, into the state of the representation of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament. That they shall also demand in such petition or petitions, a specific remedy for the past, present, and possible abuses, in the *present* system of Representation, and an avowal of the right of eternal reform. That in specifying the principles upon which redress ought to be demanded, the Delegates have particular relation to those expressed in Mr. Pitt’s speeches, before he was a placeman; in the Duke of Richmond’s letter to Col. Sharman, before he was a minister; in Mr. Flood’s speech, upon his motion for a Reform in Parlia-

" ment, but above all, in the constitutional strictures, contained
 " in the defence of John Horne Tooke, at the suit of Charles
 " James Fox, in an action for debt. And that the Delegates do de-
 " mand a right of voting for Members of Parliament, in favour
 " of all persons not infants, paupers, lunatics, placemen or pension-
 " ers. That voting ought to be only in the places or districts of
 " the residence of the voter. That the time of election ought to
 " be very short, and the collecting the votes be made in as many
 " different places in a district at once, as may be conveniently
 " and accurately taken; but above all, that the duration of Parlia-
 " ment ought to be annual. And that a reasonable compensation
 " ought to be made by a national contribution to the members
 " of the Parliament.
 " That the Delegates do punctually correspond with the So-
 " ciety, for the purpose of receiving further instructions, as the
 " exigency may require.
 " Resolved, That these be the directions to the Delegates.
 " Adjourned to Friday next."

Copy of the Instructions as finally adopted.

" Resolved, That the following be the directions, to the
 " Delegates.

" The Delegates are instructed on the part of this Society, to
 " assist in bringing forward, and supporting any constitutional
 " measures, for procuring a real representation of the Commons
 " of Great Britain in Parliament. That they shall also demand
 " a remedy for the abuses in the present system of Representa-
 " tion. That in specifying the redress to be demanded of ex-
 " isting abuses, the Delegates ought never to lose sight of the
 " two essential principles, General Suffrage and Annual Represen-
 " tation, together with the unalienable right in the people to re-
 " form. And that a reasonable and known compensation ought
 " to be made to the representatives of the nation by a national
 " contribution.

" That the Delegates do punctually correspond with the So-
 " ciety, for the purpose of communicating information, and of
 " re-

“ receiving such further instructions as the exigency may require.

“ Adjourned to Friday, next.”

[The following entries were read from the Books of the Society, for Constitutional Information.]

“ At a General Meeting of the Society, for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 17th of January, 1794.

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. John Horne Tooke in the chair.

“ Mr. Sharp, Mr. Gerald, Count Zenobio, Mr. John Pearson,

“ Mr. Wills, Mr. J. Williams, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Bonney,

“ Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Harrison, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Fitz-

“ gerald, Mr. Stock, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Kydd,

“ Mr. Banks, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Watts,

“ Mr. Richter.

“ Resolved, That law ceases to be an object of obedience whenever it becomes an instrument of oppression.

“ Resolved, That we recall to mind, with the deepest satisfaction, the merited fate of the infamous Jefferys, once Lord Chief Justice of England, who at the era of the Glorious Revolution, for the many iniquitous sentences which he had passed, was torn to pieces by a brave and injured people.

“ Resolved, That those who imitate his example, deserve his fate.

“ Mr. Tooke, having left the chair, Resolved, that Mr. Gerald be called to the chair.

“ Resolved, That the Tweed, tho’ it may divide countries, ought not, and does not, make a separation between those principles of common *severity*, in which Englishmen and Scotchmen are equally interested; that injustice in Scotland, is injustice in England, and that the safety of Englishmen is endangered, whenever their brethren, in Scotland, for a conduct which entitles them to the approbation of all wise, and the support of all

" brave men, are sentenced to Botany Bay, a punishment hitherto
 " inflicted only on felons.

" Resolved, That we see with regret, but we see without fear,
 " that the period is fast approaching when the Liberties of Britons
 " must depend not upon reason, to which they have long ap-
 " pealed, nor on their powers of expressing it, but on their firm
 " and undaunted resolution to oppose tyranny by the same means
 " by which it is exercised.

" Resolved, That we approve of the conduct of the British
 " Convention, who, tho' assailed by force, have not been answered
 " by argument, and who, unlike the members of a certain assembly,
 " have no interest distinct from the common body of the people.

" Resolved, That a Copy of the above resolutions be trans-
 " mitted to Citizen William Skirving, Secretary to the British
 " Convention, who is now imprisoned under colour of law
 " in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

" Resolved, That the resolutions now passed be published in
 " the Newspapers.

" Resolved, That the resolutions now passed be signed by
 " the Chairman and Secretary."

Mr. Erskine. I see Mr. Hardy was not there.

Mr. Garrow. No but there was a letter read from Mr. Hardy,
 which letter was read this morning, accompanying the copy of
 Margarot's indictment, and stating that anniversary dinner of the
 London Corresponding Society.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Informa-
 " tion, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday,
 " 24th January 1794.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. John Pearson in the chair.

" Mr. Horne Tooke, Count Zenobio, Mr. Frost, Mr. Bonney,

" Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Stark, Mr. Banks,

" Mr. Rutt, Mr. Bonham, Mr. Kydd, Captain Gawler,

" Mr.

" Mr. Wardle, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Watts,
" Mr. John Martin.

" A motion was made, that it be

" Resolved, That the most excellent Address of the London
" Corresponding Society, be inserted in the books of this society,
" and that the King's Speech to His * Parliament be inserted
" UNDER IT.—In order that they may be always ready, for the
" perpetual reference of the members of this society, during the
" continuance of the present unfortunate war; and that, in per-
" petuum rei memoriam, they may be printed together, in one
" sheet, at the *Happy* conclusion of it; which happy conclusion,
" according to the present *prosperous* appearances, we hope and
" believe not to be many months distant.

" * An amendment was moved, ' That between the words
" His and Parliament, the word *Honourable* should be in-
" ferted.'

" *Honourable* was withdrawn.

" Another amendment was then moved, ' That between the
" words His and Parliament, the word *Faithful* should be
" inserted.'

" *Faithful* was withdrawn.

" And it was unanimously resolved, ' That His, and His
" only, is the proper epithet for Parliament upon the present
" occasion.'

" The resolution then passed unanimously, in its original
" form.

" Resolved, That the London Corresponding Society have
" deserved well of their country.

" Resolved, That the Secretary be ordered to cause forty
" thousand copies of the Address, the Speech, and these Reso-
" lutions, to be printed on one sheet, and properly distributed in
" England, Scotland, and Ireland.

" Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the news-
" papers."

"At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
"held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 7th
"of February, 1794,

"PRESENT,

"Dr. Kentish in the chair.

"Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Arthur
"Blake, Mr. Wills, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Weldon, Mr. G.
"Williams, Mr. Green, Mr. J. Pearson, Mr. John Martin,
"Mr. Thompson, M. P. Mr. Wardle, Mr. J. Williams,
"Rev. Mr. Harris, Mr. Parkinson.

"Ordered, That the resolutions relative to the Address of
"the London Corresponding Society, passed at the meeting on
"the 24th of January last, be sent to the Edinburgh Gazetteer
"for insertion.

"Ordered, That a copy of the said resolutions of the 24th of
"January, be sent to the Secretary of the London Corresponding
"Society."

"At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
"held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Friday, 7th of
"March, 1794,

"PRESENT,

"Mr. Sharpe in the chair.

"Mr. Gawler, Rev. J. Joyce, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Blake,
"Mr. Tooke, Mr. Wills, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Satchell,
"Mr. Wardle, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Stark, Mr. Hull, Mr. Hol-
"croft, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Rutt, Mr. J.
"Williams, Mr. Beck, Mr. Banks, Mr. H. Campbell,
"Mr. Fawcett.

"Mr. Tooke gave notice that he would, at the next meeting
"of this society, move that two books should be opened; one
"of them (bound in black) in which shall be entered all the
"enormities of those who deserve the censure, and, in the other,
"the merits of those who deserve the gratitude of the society."

"At

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 28th
" of March, 1794.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. John Pearson in the chair,

" Mr. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Hull, Mr. William Sharpe,

" Mr. Wills, Mr. Wardle, Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. Kydd,

" Mr. J. Williams, Rev. Dr. Towers, Mr. Thompson,

" Mr. Scott, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Beck, Mr. Parkinson,

" Mr. Banks, Mr. Stark, Mr. Moore, Mr. Jennings,

" Resolved,

" That an Address be sent from this society to Messrs. Muir,
" Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald,

" The following Address was proposed by Mr. Joyce, to
" Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald:

" FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

" Although we have hitherto been the silent, yet we have
" by no means been the unconcerned spectators of your conduct
" and sufferings. We have seen and approved of your exertions
" for your country's happiness; we have marked, with honest
" indignation, every step that your enemies have taken to bring
" you to your present situation.—Your enemies are the enemies
" of public Liberty:—the men who are conspiring against the
" Happiness of Mankind.—The cause in which you embarked,
" and to which you have borne an honourable testimony, is
" worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too
" great to expect its accomplishment without opposition.

" The history of Liberty, for whose sake you are doomed to
" a long and unmerited exile, will afford, in the present instance,
" that consolation that former Martyrs to the same cause have
" experienced; the consolation that you will not, you cannot
" suffer in vain.

" Man may perish, but Truth will prevail; neither persecu-
" tion, nor banishment, nor death itself, can finally injure the
" progress of those principles which involve the General Happiness
" of Man.

" While,

“ While, therefore, we join every Friend to Humanity in lamenting what you have already endured, and with anxious hearts anticipate the perils to which you may be exposed in a barren and uncultivated country; yet we can rejoice, that the sources of Happiness are limited to no place, but are as extensive as the Dominion of God:—under the protection of that Great Being may you, at all times, and in all places, feel the pleasure that arises from Conscious Integrity.

“ Fellow Citizens, we assure you, that the memory of your virtues shall never be effaced from our breasts; the cause for which you have struggled, is a glorious cause; the world that has witnessed your exertions, shall witness ours also.—A full and fair representation of the people of Great Britain, we seek, with all the ardour of men and Britons; for the sake of which we are not only ready to act with vigour and unanimity, but, we trust, prepared also to suffer with constancy.

“ Our best wishes will ever attend you; and we do believe that the day is not very distant when we shall again receive you, on British shores, the welcome children of a FREE and HAPPY country.”

“ Resolved, That the same be sent to Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

“ Ordered, That the said Address be published in the Newspapers.

“ Mr. Joyce gave notice, that he would, on Friday next, bring forward a motion relative to the speech of Mr. Dundas, on Tuesday last, respecting the introduction of Scotch Law in England.

“ Read a letter from the London Corresponding Society.

“ Resolved, That the same be entered on the books of this society.

“ *March 27th, 1794.*

“ To the Secretary of the Society for Constitutional Information.

“ CITIZENS,

“ I am directed, by the London Corresponding Society, to transmit the following resolutions to the Society for Constitutional

“ tional Information, and to request the sentiments of that society,
“ respecting the important measures which the present juncture
“ of affairs seems to require.

“ The London Corresponding Society conceives, that the
“ moment is arrived when a full and explicit declaration is
“ necessary from all the Friends of Freedom,—Whether the
“ late illegal and unheard-of prosecutions and sentences shall de-
“ termine us to abandon our cause, or shall excite us to pursue a
“ radical reform, with an ardour proportioned to the magnitude
“ of the object, and with a zeal *as distinguished*, on our parts, as
“ the *treachery* of others, in the same glorious cause, is *notorious*.
“ The Society for Constitutional Information is therefore re-
“ quired to determine, whether or no they will be ready, when
“ called upon, to act in conjunction with this and other societies,
“ to obtain a fair representation of the people.—Whether they
“ concur with us in seeing the necessity of a *speedy Convention*,
“ for the purpose of obtaining, in a constitutional and legal
“ method, a redress of those grievances under which we, at
“ present, labour, and which can only be effectually removed by
“ a full and fair representation of the PEOPLE of Great Britain.
“ The London Corresponding Society cannot but remind their
“ friends, that the present crisis demands all the prudence,
“ unanimity, and vigour, that ever may or can be exerted by
“ MEN and Britons; nor do they doubt, but what manly firm-
“ ness and constancy will finally, and they believe shortly,
“ TERMINATE in the full accomplishment of all their wishes.

“ I am, Fellow Citizen,

“ (In my humble measure,)

“ A Friend to the Rights of Man,

(Signed)

“ T. HARDY, Secretary.”

“ Resolved unanimously, 1st, That dear as JUSTICE and
“ LIBERTY are to Britons, yet the value of them is comparatively
“ small, without a dependance on their permanency; and there
“ can be no security for the continuance of any *Right*, but in
“ EQUAL LAWS.

“ 2d, That equal Laws can never be expected, but by a full
“ and fair representation of the people.—To obtain which, in
“ the

“ the way pointed out by the Constitution, has been and is the
 “ sole object of this society.—For this we are ready to hazard
 “ every thing; and never, but with our lives, will we relinquish
 “ an object which involves the happiness, or even the political
 “ existence of ourselves and posterity.

3d, That it is the decided opinion of this society, that, to
 “ secure ourselves from future illegal and scandalous prosecutions,
 “ to prevent a repetition of wicked and unjust sentences; and to
 “ recal those wise and wholesome laws that have *been* wrested
 “ from us, and of which scarcely a vestige remains; there ought
 “ to be *immediately* a CONVENTION of the PEOPLE, by delegates,
 “ deputed for that purpose, from the different societies of the
 “ *Friends of Freedom*, assembled in the various parts of this
 “ nation.—And we pledge ourselves to the public, to pursue
 “ every legal method speedily to accomplish so desirable a
 “ purpose.

“ P. S. I have to inform you, that a general meeting of the
 “ society will be holden on Monday, the 14th of April, the place
 “ to be announced by public advertisement.

“ Resolved, That it is fit and proper, and the duty of this
 “ society, to send an answer to the London Corresponding
 “ Society.

“ Ordered, That the Secretary acquaint the London Corres-
 “ ponding Society, that we have received their communication,
 “ and heartily co-act with them in the objects they have in
 “ view; and that, for the purpose of a more speedy and effectual
 “ co-operation, we invite them to send to this society, next
 “ Friday evening, a delegation of some of their members.”

“ At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
 “ held at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, Strand, Friday,
 “ April 4, 1794.

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. Symonds in the chair.

“ Mr. Tooke, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Blake, Mr. Bonney, Mr.

“ Wills, Mr. J. Pearson, Mr. Joyce, Mr. J. Williams, Mr.

“ Wardle,

“ Wardle, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr.

“ Beck, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Banks, Mr. Richter.

“ Read a letter from the committee of the London Corresponding Society, acquainting this society that they had deputed Matthew Moore, John Baxter, John Thelwall, Richard Hodgson, and John Lovett, to hold a conference with the members of this society.

“ Mr. Moore, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Lovett and Mr. Baxter, attended from the London Corresponding Society.

“ Resolved, That a delegation of five members of this society be appointed to meet the members deputed by the London Corresponding Society.

“ Resolved, That Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Holcroft, and Mr. Kydd, be a deputation to confer with the deputies of the Corresponding Society.

“ Resolved, That there be appointed a committee of correspondence of the members of this society.

“ Resolved, That Mr. Joyce, Mr. Bonney, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. J. Pearson, Mr. Tooke, and Mr. Wardle, compose the committee.”

“ At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, April 11, 1794.

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. Joyce in the chair.

“ Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Tooke, Mr. J. Pearson, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Hull, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Milner, Mr. Kyd, Mr. Wills, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Scott, Mr. Thompson, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Beck, Mr. Hardy, Rev. Mr. Macewen (*Dundee*), Mr. Fawcett (*Pancraft-lane*), Mr. Jennings, Mr. Richter.

“ Mr. Joyce made the report of the Meeting of the delegates of the London Corresponding Society, for the purpose of this Society

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“ Society co-operating with the London Corresponding Society,
“ and that they had come to the following resolutions :

“ 1st, Resolved, That it appears to this committee very de-
“ fireable that a General Meeting or Convention of the Friends
“ of Liberty, should be called for the purpose of taking into con-
“ sideration the proper methods of obtaining a full and fair Repre-
“ sentation of the People.

“ 2d, Resolved, That it is recommended to the Society for
“ Constitutional Information, and the London Corresponding
“ Society, to institute a regular and pressing correspondence with
“ all those parts of the country where such measures may be likely
“ to be promoted, not only to instigate the societies already
“ formed, but to endeavour also to produce such other associations
“ as may farther the general object.

“ 3d, Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the
“ general object will be much promoted, if a standing committee
“ of co-operation between the two societies were established, for
“ the purpose of holding personal communication with such mem-
“ bers of similar societies in other parts of the country as may
“ occasionally be in London, and who may be authorized by
“ their respective societies to act with such committees.”

“ Read the following letter from the Secretary to the London
“ Corresponding Society.

“ April 10, 1794.

“ CITIZEN,

“ I am ordered by the committee of delegates of the London
“ Corresponding Society, to inform the Society for Constitutional
“ Information, that they approve of the resolutions of the com-
“ mittee of conference.

“ Therefore, the London Corresponding Society have chosen
“ Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, John Baxter, Richard Hodg-
“ son, and John Lovatt, to put in practice immediately the
“ second and third resolutions of that committee.

(Signed)

“ THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.”

“ D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional
“ Information.”

“ Resolved,

* Resolved, That the report of the committee of delegates
“ from the London Corresponding Society, and of this society,
“ be entered in the books of this society.

“ 1st, Resolved, That it appears to this society very desirable,
“ that a General Meeting of the Friends of Liberty should be
“ called, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proper
“ methods of obtaining a full and fair Representation of the
“ People.

“ 2d, Resolved, That it appears to this society, that the
“ general object will be much promoted if a standing committee
“ of co-operation were established, for the purpose of holding
“ personal communication with such members of similar societies
“ in other parts of the country as may occasionally be in London,
“ and who may be authorized by their respective societies to act
“ with committees.

“ 3d, Resolved, That the committee of correspondence already
“ appointed by this society, be the committee for co-operation
“ and communication with the committees of other societies.

“ Ordered, That the secretary be desired to send a letter to
“ the London Corresponding Society, acquainting them with the
“ members of this society appointed to confer with them.

“ Resolved, That Mr. Joyce be requested to accept of the
“ office of secretary of the committee of correspondence.

“ Mr. Joyce being present, accepted of the said office.”

“ At a Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
“ held at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, Strand, Friday,
“ May 9, 1794.

“ PRESENT,

“ Mr. Wardle in the chair,

“ Mr. Hull, Mr. J. H. Tooke, Mr. Frost, Mr. W. Sharpe,
“ Mr. J. Pearson, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Joyce, Mr. J. Wil-
“ liams, Mr. Savage, Mr. Chatfield.

“ Read a letter from Mr. Muir, on board the Surprise trans-
“ port, in answer to the address of this society.

“ Resolved, That the same be entered in the books of the
“ society.

“ Read a pamphlet, containing certain proceedings of the
 “ London Corresponding Society, and of this society.

“ Resolved, That two thousand of the same be printed by this
 “ society.”

Mr. Maclean. I found this printed pamphlet at Mr. Adams's.

Mr. Garrow. This is one of the pamphlets which the last
 resolution of the Constitutional Society directed to be published,
 and which was found in the possession of the secretary to that
 society. The letter of the 27th of March 1794 is introductory
 to this; that is, a letter from the London Corresponding Society
 to the Society for Constitutional Information, with their reso-
 lutions enclosed; they have been read before.

Mr. Erskine. This letter having been already read, I should
 be sorry to insist upon the Court and Jury hearing it again, but
 when parts of papers are read, other parts may be out of recol-
 lection; though your Lordships and I may have a recollection of
 it, the Jury may not: I cannot tell whether every body else will
 form the same opinion of my case that I do, otherwise I should
 not be apprehensive of any thing.

Mr. Garrow. The first thing is the letter, and the resolutions
 of the 27th of March, which have been read.

*The following extracts were read from the printed pamphlet pro-
 duced by Mr. Maclean.*

“ *Proceedings, &c. of the Society for Constitutional Information.*

“ Society for Constitutional Information.

“ *London, March 28, 1794.*

“ Resolved, That the following address be sent to Messrs.

“ Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

“ FRIENDS and FELLOW CITIZENS,

“ Although we have hitherto been the silent, yet we have by
 “ no means been the unconcerned spectators of your conduct and
 “ sufferings. We have seen and approved of your exertions for
 “ your country's happiness—We have marked with honest in-
 “ dignation, every step that your enemies have taken to bring
 “ you to your present situation. Your enemies are the enemies

“ of

“ of PUBLIC LIBERTY, the men who are conspiring against the
 “ happiness of mankind. The cause in which you are embarked,
 “ and to which you have borne an honourable testimony, is
 “ worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too
 “ great; to expect its accomplishment without opposition.

“ The history of liberty, for whose sake you are doomed to a
 “ long and unmerited exile, will afford, in the present instance,
 “ that consolation that former martyrs to the same cause have
 “ experienced; the consolation, that you *will not*, you *cannot*,
 “ suffer in vain.

“ Men may perish, but truth will prevail; neither perse-
 “ cution, nor banishment, nor death itself, can *finally* injure the
 “ progress of those principles which involve the general hap-
 “ piness of man.

“ While, therefore, we join every friend to humanity in
 “ lamenting what you have *already* endured, and with anxious
 “ hearts, anticipate the perils to which you *may* be exposed in a
 “ barren and uncultivated country, yet we can rejoice that the
 “ sources of happiness are limited to no place, but are as
 “ extensive as the dominion of GOD; under the protection of
 “ that GREAT BEING, may you at all times, and in all places,
 “ feel the pleasure that arises from conscious integrity.

“ Fellow-Citizens, we assure you that the memory of your
 “ virtues shall never be effaced from our breasts; the cause for
 “ which you have struggled, is a glorious cause, the world that
 “ has witnessed *your exertions*, shall witness *ours also*.

“ A full and fair Representation of the People of Great-
 “ Britain, we seek with all the ardour of Men and Britons, for
 “ the sake of which we are not only ready to *act with vigour and*
 “ *unanimity, but we trust, prepared also to suffer with constancy.*

“ Our best wishes will ever attend you, and we do believe
 “ that the day is not very distant, when we shall again receive
 “ you on the British shores, the welcome children of a FREE
 “ and HAPPY COUNTRY.

“ By Order of the Society.”

" To the Chairman of the Society for Constitutional Information.

" *Surprize Transport, April 16, 1794.*

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" I have long since looked upon your society with admiration
 " and esteem, considering it as the source and school of most of
 " the political information, which, by the blessing of God, has
 " overspread the island. I have been instructed by the wisdom
 " of your papers, and animated by the spirit of your addresses.
 " That my conduct is approved by such a society, is my pride
 " and my joy.

" You say, (and the consideration is the support of my life)
 " *that the history of liberty will prove by the experience of her*
 " *former martyrs, that sufferings in her cause cannot be in vain.*

" That my sufferings may not be in vain, I ardently wish that
 " the eyes of my countrymen were open, not only to the ille-
 " gality and despotism of my sentence, but to the alarming
 " measures by which it was brought about. *My Jury was three*
 " *times packed by the servants of the Crown before it sat upon me.*

" In the first instance by the Sheriff's deputy, placemen imme-
 " diately appointed by the Crown; in the second, by the Crown
 " Agent, Lord Advocate, &c. at Edinburgh; and in the third,
 " by the Justiciary Lords, who tried the cause. These last,
 " arbitrarily appoint the fifteen particular persons who are to sit
 " upon the accused. The strongest objections are mere air, as
 " the Lords alone are the judges of the validity of them. A
 " majority of the fifteen condemns. If, therefore, ministry,
 " with their all-extensive influence, can in three countries find
 " only eight servile tools subservient to their views, the fortune,
 " the liberties, the lives of all Scotland are at their mercy. Trial
 " is condemnation. The sentence is appointed before-hand by
 " the Minister, and mine was known a full week at Edinburgh
 " before it was uttered. They can ruin, or even murder whom
 " they please. This infamous robbery of the first right of En-
 " glishmen, a trial by Jury fairly chosen, I have endeavoured to
 " set forth in a letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle,
 " last October or November, of the date (if I remember rightly)

" of

" of the 22d or 27th, of which I now avow myself the author, to
 " which I beg leave to draw the attention of the Society for
 " Constitutional Information. Farewell, Fellow Citizens.

" I am, with respect and esteem,

" Your equal Brother,

" THOMAS FYSHE PALMER."

" *Surprise Spithead, April 16, 1794.*"

" *Surprise Transport, Spithead, April 17, 1794.*"

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" Permit me, Sir, to assure you, and the respectable Constitu-
 " tional Society, that the very consoling address, received agree-
 " ably to their Resolution of the 28th ult. has excited in me, as
 " also in the hearts of each of my fellow Martyrs, for the im-
 " portant cause of universal suffrage, and annual Parliaments, the
 " most lively sensations of gratitude and esteem. The Constitu-
 " tional Society was the foremost of true Patriots to raise the
 " Standard of Reform, for the purpose of redeeming from the con-
 " taminating and contagious influence of corruption, those ve-
 " nerable, but almost lost principles of the British Constitution.
 " Wrought into it by the blood, and irresistible energies of our
 " forefathers, many of whom, rather than that these principles,
 " upon which depend the virtue and felicity of Society should be
 " lost sight of, exhibited their high esteem of them on Scaffolds
 " and in Dungeons; that all, even the most callous spectators
 " might be persuaded, that the truths for which they did not
 " reckon even their lives too dear a sacrifice, were surely worthy of
 " the unprejudiced investigation of all. Your remark therefore
 " is just, and it is very soothing to us, "*We do not, we cannot*
 " *suffer for such a cause in vain.*" The resentment of our ene-
 " mies, driving them into such absurd measures towards men,
 " against whom vice of any kind is not even alledged, must have
 " moved in every unprejudiced mind, the restless question;
 " Why? Why are men who seek the improvement of their
 " species thrown with Felons into Dungeons? And full in-
 " formation must follow sincere enquiry, and at length convert

" all to the side of truth and righteousness. I therefore cheerfully
 " consent to suffer *to promote the general good.*

" We are blamed as having prematurely, at least, exposed our-
 " selves to the necessity of sealing by our sufferings, the cause we
 " would promote. If in this case we have erred, I will readily
 " take the whole blame, as having strained every nerve to press
 " forward the measure of a general Convention, as being the only
 " means to avert impending ruin. I sought to arouse and alarm
 " my countrymen to consider their extreme danger. I feared
 " that the necessity for such association would be on us before we
 " were prepared for it. Besides, what measure could possibly in-
 " terest so much the public enquiry? what has so much increased
 " public information? It excited counter associations, and caused
 " every man to see who were on the side of truth, and who were
 " on the side of corruption: It exposed the selfish and interested
 " designs of the one, and the unfeigned prosecution of the public
 " good by the other. I speak so with the greater confidence be-
 " fore a Society that must have marked the progress of *informa-*
 " *tion* so long under their own auspices. You must know that
 " this progress, the exciting the enquiry of the public, has been
 " more extensively effected during the last year, than during the ten
 " preceding ones. The cause was the General Convention. The
 " terror and hatred of Ministry to it proves the truth. Who
 " then would have refused even his life to have been instru-
 " mental in promoting so much good.

" Your explicit approbation of our conduct has prompted this
 " self-exultation; forgive therefore my freedom. I may be mis-
 " taken. The important Revolution in human affairs, to which
 " every Christian looks with anxious hope, may be yet distant. If
 " it is, Tyranny may still triumph. But God forbid it. It would
 " then be better to die than to live. But though I hope the re-
 " verse, I know, as you justly observe, "*That the importance of*
 " *the cause of Freedom is too great to the world, to expect its accom-*
 " *plishment without opposition,*" and the opposition of despairing
 " Tyranny will be dreadful, it will be destructive; and why?---
 " because nothing but its ruining last struggle will rouse man-
 " kind from their idle dream of security. *They regard not, they*
 " *pity*

" *pity not its present victims.* They put off the evil far from themselves, and hence it overtakes them suddenly," when their strength is gone, and there is none shut up or left." Hold fast therefore what you have attained. Your association alone can prevent the dreadful consequence of such indifference. UNITING LOVE is the strength, as well as solace of mankind. Cement by reciprocal kind communications, the union of hearts, of interests, of measures, WHICH HAVE BEEN SOLEMNLY RESOLVED. By so doing, you will escape the destruction which is coming on all the earth.

" Worthy Citizens, I will solace my mind, when drooping, with the kind assurance which you have vouchsafed by your masterly address, that I, with my brethren, have a place in your affection and prayers; and I will believe with you, *"that the day is not very distant, when you will again receive us on British shores, the welcome children of a free and happy people."* When indeed it shall be demonstrated, *"That our enemies are the enemies of public liberty; the men who conspired against the happiness of mankind."* But though the mighty are combined, though they should so far prevail as to scatter utterly in their vain apprehension the friends of truth, the principles of it which are already established, is the "stone cut out without hands, and shall become a great mountain and fill the whole earth," for he who first commanded the light to shine out of darkness, is its almighty patron.

" Be assured, my dear brethren, that I have already realized the pleasures of conscious integrity, and can reflect with the sincerest satisfaction, that I was influenced in all my exertions for the cause of Reform, by that benevolence which I would ever cultivate as the principle of every kind of human excellence.

" With sentiments of the most unfeigned esteem and respect,

" I am,

" Your sincere wellwisher,

" W. SKIRVING."

" The President of the London Constitutional Society."

" *Surprise Transport, April 24, 1794.*

" To the Members of the Society for Constitutional Information
" in London.

" That the spirit of Freedom is not extinguished, but still re-
" tains its former energy, in defiance of the artifices and of the
" violence of Despotism, is an object of high consolation to my
" mind. Engaged in the sacred cause of man, individual man is
" an atom of little value; and in speaking of himself, when he
" recollects and contemplates the principles of his conduct,
" should disdain to make use of the term Suffering. Without a
" vain affection, for myself, I disclaim the assumption of extra-
" ordinary merit. The man who has acted in obedience to the
" law of his own conscience, has simply discharged his duty; and
" the contrary supposition would involve him in guilt. I am
" deeply persuaded, that many of the men, whom I now address
" in a situation less circumscribed, with abilities more powerful,
" but not with hearts more honest, after having atchieved what
" I could not accomplish, would with the same silent scorn have
" regarded each feeble attempt to shackle and to repress the free-
" born mind.

" Your preceding exertions, in attempting to procure a fair
" representation of the People in Parliament have been me-
" ritorious. They are a solemn and sure pledge of their future
" continuation. In proportion to the number, and to the rapidity
" of those tremendous scenes, which daily in succession pass be-
" fore the eye; *All, All* of them deriving their existence from this
" violation of our Constitutional Rights, let your ardour in pro-
" curing a rectification of what is wrong be increased. Confident
" you will obtain the blessing of that *Being*, whose great design is
" the happiness of his creation.

" THOMAS MUIR."

" It being recommended at a former Meeting, to the Members
" of the SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, to
" peruse two printed Sermons of the Rev. J. H. Williams,
" preached on the Public Fasts of 1793 and 1794, as productions
" of

" of singular worth, the society came to the following unanimous
" resolution :—

" *London, April 25, 1794.*

" Resolved, That the grateful thanks of this society be paid to
" the Rev. J. H. WILLIAMS, Vicar of Wells-Bourn, War-
" wickshire, for the publication of his two inestimable Sermons
" on the Public Fasts of April 1793, and February 1794.
" The doctrines and sentiments which they contain are in
" perfect unison with the principles of this society; and we
" trust that the motives and springs of action which he recom-
" mends, will ever be found to direct our conduct.

" By Order of the Society,

" D. ADAMS, Secretary."

" Society for Constitutional Information.

" *May 2, 1794.*

" This being the Anniversary of the Society, upwards of three
" hundred persons dined together at the Crown and Anchor-
" Tavern, in the Strand.

" JOHN WHARTON, M. P. in the Chair.

" STEWARDS.

" Thomas Thompson, M. P.

" John Pearson,

" John Chatfield,

" Arthur Blake,

" John Bellenden Gawler,

" William Sharp,

" Robert Knight,

" Thomas Wardle,

" George Wingfield Sparrow,

" Charles Goring,

" Jeremiah Joyce,

" John Bonham."

" John Williams,

" During the time of dinner, and between the toasts, a nume-
" rous band played the popular tunes of *Ca Ira*, the *Carmagnol*,
" the *Marfellois March*, the *Democrat*, and a new piece of music,
" called the " FREE CONSTITUTION."

" After dinner the following Sentiments were given with un-
" bounded applause :—

" 1. THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

" 2. A Free Constitution.

" 3. The Swine of England, the Rabble of Scotland, and the
" Wretches of Ireland.

" 4. Equal Laws and Liberty.

" 5. May Despotism be trodden under the Hoofs of the
" Swinish Multitude.

" 6. THE ARMIES CONTENDING FOR LIBERTY.

" 7. Wisdom, Firmness, and Unanimity to all the Patriotic
" Societies in Great Britain.

" 8. To the reign of Peace and Liberty.

" A Citizen then rose, and in a short speech observed, that the
" Stewards seemed to have forgotten in their list of toasts, a
" person who had done more than almost any man towards *the*
" *Reign of Peace and Liberty*; he would, therefore, propose as a
" toast " Lord Stanhope." An amendment was proposed, that
" instead of Lord Stanhope, Citizen Stanhope should be drank,
" which was received with thundering applause.

" 9. May the Public Revenue never be applied to the pur-
" poses of Corruption.

" 10. The Victims to the cause of Liberty suffering under
" the sentences of the Court of Justiciary.

" 11. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and the Patriots of Ireland.

" 12. The persecuted Patriots of England.

" 13. MAY THE ABETTORS OF THE PRESENT
" WAR BE ITS VICTIMS.

" 14. The Chairman, and success to his exertions in the
" cause of Freedom.

" Mr. Wharton thanked the company for their marked appro-
" bation of his conduct, and pledged himself to continue his
" efforts in the cause of Liberty. He then said he would propose
" as a toast,

" 15. That steady Friend to Liberty, John Horne Tooke.

" Mr. Tooke said, he hoped it would be the last time that
" his health should be drank. His ambition was, that hereafter
" *his MEMORY should be given.*"

" 16. MAY ALL GOVERNMENTS BE THOSE OF
" THE LAWS, AND ALL LAWS THOSE OF THE
" PEOPLE.

" 17. Thomas Paine,

" The

" The Chairman then gave as a concluding toast, a Sentiment directly in opposition to that of Mr. Wyndham.

" 18. Prosperity to the Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain."

Mr. Garrow. There follow several songs, which are stated to have been sung at the dinner---I do not desire them to be read, but have not the smallest objection to their being read, if Mr. Erskine wishes it.

Mr. Erskine. I am not particularly anxious for a song at the present moment.

[*The songs were not read.*]

It being now past twelve o'clock, a conversation took place respecting the adjournment, in which the Jury stated, that they could not have the necessary refreshment of sleep in the Session House, having only one room, and nothing but mattresses to lie down upon, and that they had not had their clothes off for more than forty hours. The Counsel on both sides expressed their desire, that the Jury might have every possible accommodation. The Court being informed, that the Jury could have beds at the Hummums, in Covent-Garden, (with the consent of the Counsel on both sides) directed that they should go thither. Four officers were sworn to keep the Jury; and the Jury went in coaches to the Hummums, attended by the Under-Sheriffs, and the four officers,

Adjourned till Eleven o'Clock.

The Chairman then gave an account of the Committee's
directly in opposition to that of Mr. W. Andrews.
" 18 Propriety to the Committee and Members of the
Bureau."

Mr. Gervais. There follow several things which are stated to
have been said at the dinner--I do not desire them to be read,
but have not the slightest objection to their being read if Mr.
Bishop wishes it.

Mr. Bishop. I am not particularly anxious for a long and
lengthy memorial. I think it would be better to have a
short one. (The paper was not read.)

It being now half twelve o'clock, a conversation took place
respecting the adjournment, at which the jury stated that
they could not have the necessary retirement of sleep in
the Station House, having only two rooms, and nothing
but suitable to his own room and that they had not had
their dinner off for more than four hours. The Council on
both sides expressed their desire that the jury might have
every possible accommodation. The Court being informed
that the jury could have beds at the Chambers of the Court
Garden (with the consent of the Council on both sides)
directed that they should go thither. Four officers were
sworn to keep the jury and the jury went in order to the
Chambers, attended by the Under-Sheriff and the four
officers.

SESSION HOUSE IN THE OLD BAILEY,

Thursday, October the 30th, 1794.

PRESENT,

Lord Chief Justice EYRE ;

Lord Chief Baron MACDONALD ;

Mr. Baron HOTHAM ;

Mr. Justice BULLER ;

Mr. Justice GROSE ;

And others his Majesty's Justices, &c.

Thomas Hardy set to the bar.

Mr. Attorney General. I am going to produce some papers found in the possession of the prisoner so far back as the 30th April, 1792, by which it will appear that the prisoner, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Martin, Mr. Richter, one of the persons named in this indictment, were at that time chosen Delegates of the Corresponding Society, and Mr. Vaughan, and one or two more of them, I think were to draw up the Constitution of the Society.— I shall produce a letter of the prisoner desiring that constitution to be drawn up.

Mr. Gurnell. These two papers I found in Mr. Hardy's possession,

[*They were read.*]

" Monday, 30th April, 1792.

*" Corresponding Society, Division No. 7, held at the sign of
" the Coach and Horses, Lincoln's Inn-Fields.*

" James Sheriff in the chair.

*" Resolved unanimously, That Maurice Margarot be ap-
" pointed our Delegate to the standing Committee of the several
" divisions of the Corresponding Society.*

*" That said Delegate shall continue in office during the space
" of three months from this day.*

" That

" That these Resolutions, signed by the Chairman, be transmitted to the President of the Committee.

" Signed by order,

" J^A. SHERIFF, Chairman."

Indorsed " *April 30, 1792, Division No. 7.*

" M^{re}. Margarot, *Delegate.*"

" To the Delegates of the London Corresponding Society.

" At a Meeting of the Second Branch of the aforesaid Society,
" held at the Blue Posts, Hay-market,

" Mr. M^c Bean in the chair,

" It was unanimously Resolved,

" 1st. That the Precedence is to go by rotation.

" 2dly. That David Rowland was unanimously elected Secretary.

" 3dly. That Mr. Martin was unanimously elected Delegate
" for this Society, for three months from the date hereof.

" By order of the Society.

" *April 30th, 1792.*

" D. ROWLAND, Secretary."

Indorsed " *Mr. Martin, Attorney at Law, Richmond Buildings.*

" *30th April, 1792.*

" *Division No. 8., John Martin, Delegate.*

" *Division No. 8, Blue Posts. John Martin Delegate.---*

" *James Black, Deputy, the 10th May, 1792, in consequence*

" *of Mr. Martin's non-attendance.*"

Mr. Lauzun. I found these two papers in Mr. Hardy's house.

[*They were read.*]

" This is to certify, that we, the Division No. 16 of the
" London Corresponding Society, have chosen John Baxter our
" Delegate.

" EDW. JONES, Chairman.

" Nov. 5, 1792.

" E. GRAY, Secy."

Indorsed " *Mr. Margarot.*

" *Division No. 16.*---John Baxter, *Delegate.*

" *No. of Members 31.*"

" *Thursday, 8th Nov. 1792.*

" On an application being made to the Committee of Dele-
" gates of the London Corresponding Society, by John Richter,
" of Division No. 6, for leave to institute a Division of this
" Society in the neighbourhood of Knightsbridge, he is hereby
" authorized to do so in the course of the next week, and take
" the name of Division No. 19 of the London Corresponding
" Society.

" Signed by order,

" MCE. MARGAROT, Chairman.

" THO^s. HARDY, Secretary.

" This is to certify, that John Richter is appointed Delegate
" from Division No. 19 of the London Corresponding Society,
" this first Meeting, at the Friend and Hand, Little North-
" street, Knightsbridge, this Monday, the 26th Nov. 1792.

" JOHN RICHTER, Chairman.

" ALR. WATING, Secretary."

Indorsed " *To the Citizens delegated for the Management of the*
" *Affairs of the London Corresponding Society, &c. &c.*

" *Division No. 19.*

" *John Richter, Delegate.*---*No. of Members, 6.*"

Mr. Gurnell. I found these papers in Mr. Hardy's house.

They were read.]

" 7th

" 7th May, 1792.

" Mr. Hardy, the bearer of this, is delegated by the Division
" of the London Corresponding Society that meets at the Bell,
" Exeter-street, Strand; and is authorized to assist at the Com-
" mittee appointed to form a constitutional code of laws for the
" government of the Corresponding Society.

" ROBERT BOYD."

Indorsed " 30th April, 1792.

" Division No. 2.---Tho^s. Hardy, *Delegate*."

" The 30th April, 1792.

" Mr. Vaughan, the bearer of this, is delegated by the Division
" of the Corresponding Society that meets at the Bell, Exeter-
" street; and is authorized to assist at the Committee ap-
" pointed to form a constitutional code of laws for the govern-
" ment of the Corresponding Society.

Indorsed " 30th April, 1792.

" Division No. 3.---Felix Vaughan, *Delegate*."

" SIR,

" I take the liberty of sending you a few of our original
" papers, for your perusal this afternoon---If you see any thing
" in them worthy of adopting, for the approbation of the Dele-
" gates to-morrow evening.---Some of them are sweet flowers;
" and I hope you will be like the bee---extract a little from
" each. I wish you (if you see any propriety in it) to copy
" part of the preamble; that part, I mean, that mentions the
" number of inhabitants in each of those populous towns that
" have not a single voice in chusing a member to represent
" them.---I am sure it would have a good effect upon the public,
" and likewise the rotten boroughs in Cornwall; when those
" papers were read in our Society in its infant state; (but, by
" the by, it is scarcely out of leading-strings now; but do not
" let a doubt remain with us of success) they were fired with in-
" dignation at such an unjust and unequal representation; many
" never heard of any such thing.---If our Society were so af-
" fected

“ fected, by the fame way of reasoning, tens of thoufands of the
“ people of this nation would be equally fo, if they were in-
“ formed of the exiftence of thofe evils;---for fome of them (in
“ my opinion) are the moft glaring that can be exhibited to the
“ public.—Excufe me for taking fuch liberty with you.—I
“ remain,

“ SIR,

“ Your and the Society’s zealous friend,

“ THO^S. HARDY.”

“ April 2, 1792.

“ No. 4, Taylor’s Buildings, Chandos-ftreet.

“ To Mr. Vaughan.

Mr. Lauzun. I found this printed paper in Mr. Hardy’s houfe.

*The following extracts were read from the faid paper, entitled
the Report of the Committee of Conftitution of the London Cor-
refponding Society. Printed for the ufe of the Members.*

“ FELLOW CITIZENS,

“ Knowing, from experience, that thofe who (through the de-
“ praved ftate of what fhould be the representative body) are
“ fuffered to prey on the vitals of our Country, derive the
“ principal part of their fuccefs, in oppofing an equal repre-
“ fentation, from the active circulation of falfehoods, refpecting
“ this, and other fimilar focieties; we think it advifable, that you
“ fhould give an explicit declaration of your PRINCIPLES
“ and WISHES, which we conceive to be as follow:

“ 1. That all men are by nature free, equal and independent
“ of each other.

“ 2. That, to enjoy all the advantages of civil fociety, it is not
“ neceffary that individuals fhould relinquifh more of their na-
“ tural independence than is required to fulfil this injunction.
“ Let the minority yield a friendly fubmiffion to the majority.”

“ 3. That no majority, however great, can juftly deprive the
“ minority of any part of their civil rights:---wherever it is at-
“ tempted, the focial bond is broken, and the minority have
“ a right to refift.

“ 4. The

“ 4. The civil rights of every individual are equality of voice,
 “ in the making of laws, and in the choice of persons by whom
 “ those laws are to be administered.—Equality before the law,
 “ whether in claiming its protection, or submitting to its sentence.
 “ Freedom to publish his opinion, to exercise his religious wor-
 “ ship without molestation or restriction, and to enjoy his pro-
 “ perty, subject only to such contributions as may be impartially
 “ levied for the public service.

“ 5. Submission to any measure does not imply silence as to
 “ the propriety or impropriety thereof.

“ 6. Every power entrusted to a magistrate, implies a re-
 “ sponsibility for the exercise of that power.

“ 7. The foregoing are not new, but are the original prin-
 “ ciples of English government.

“ 8. The total departure from the principle of equality in the
 “ election of the legislative body, commonly called the House of
 “ Commons, is the chief cause why the people of Britain are
 “ now deprived of the benefit of the foregoing principles; and
 “ in place thereof, labour under a continued system of extortion
 “ and monopoly.

“ 9. *The Corn act*—is a grievance immediately resulting from
 “ the restriction of the choice of representatives, to men of landed
 “ property; by it the price of bread in general is doubled, and
 “ sometimes much more than doubled; for whenever this country
 “ happens to be blessed with an abundant season, a part of the
 “ taxes under which we groan, is applied to encourage the ex-
 “ portation, and advance the price of corn. Thus we pay one
 “ tax to government, to give the landed man an opportunity of
 “ laying on another. The hackneyed pretence for this act
 “ is, “the welfare of the farmer.” The real intention of it is, to
 “ enable the monopolizers of farms, to pay enormous rents.

“ 10. *Game laws*—though too evidently calculated to disarm
 “ the nation, may in general be attributed to the same restriction:—
 “ by them, even the Farmer, on whose property the game is fed,
 “ is robbed of every constitutional right of a Briton, and sub-
 “ jected to the brutality of a Bashaw in the form of a country
 “ justice, from whom there is no appeal.

" 11. *Excise laws—and stamp duties* (and the consequent system
 " of spies and informers) equally repugnant to the professed
 " principles of the constitution, and most extensive in their op-
 " pression; are often introduced merely as engines of corporation
 " influence; for in some instances, the produce of the tax does
 " not pay the expence of collection; were the sense of the na-
 " tion fairly taken, it is impossible to believe but that whatever
 " sum might be necessary for the public service, it would be
 " raised by means less obnoxious and less expensive.

" 12. *The mutiny act*---which would never have existed, had
 " not the bulk of the people been excluded from representation.
 " It reflects a charge of hypocrisy on those who affect to bewail
 " the late events in France, yet calmly view the defenders of
 " their own country, subjected to every species of fraud, insult
 " and cruelty. The military excellence of true republicans, in
 " all ages, proves it to be unnecessary. Convince a Briton, that
 " he is about to fight for a country, in which his rights are duly
 " consulted, and the cat of nine-tails may be burnt by the hands
 " of the common hangman.

" 13. *The impress service*---equally cruel with the foregoing, is
 " another effect of partial representation: it has lately been
 " proved that the expence of this service, if applied to encrease
 " the seamen's pay, would render impressing unnecessary; but it
 " is more consistent with the government of a faction, to distri-
 " bute the sum among the officers of corporations.

" 14. The ill effects of partial representation are not confined
 " to men in private stations; we challenge contradiction when we
 " assert that, in general, promotion, whether in the Army, Navy,
 " or Church, is the effect of parliamentary connection, and the
 " reward of parliamentary prostitution.

" 15. We cannot entertain a doubt that the foregoing state-
 " ment of grievances will be admitted as just by our country-
 " men at large, and also that an equal representation, by uni-
 " versal and annual suffrage, would tend immediately to redress
 " them. It remains to prove that the difficulties said to attend
 " such a scheme are merely the chimerical inventions of in-
 " terested men.

" 16. Let us suppose all partial corporations, (those badges of
 " slavery) abolished; and consider the whole island as one cor-
 " poration, divided into counties or cities, for the purposes of
 " embodying and exercising militia, &c. and for electing repre-
 " sentatives, subdivided into districts, or townships, as nearly as
 " convenient, in equal proportion to the number of inhabitants.

" 17. Allow to each district, or township, one representative,
 " and let it be subdivided into parishes, and every man entitled
 " to a vote, be registered in the parish in which he resides.
 " Large parishes may be subdivided into wards, or hamlets.

" 18. Let every voter give his vote in the parish in which he
 " resides; let the votes be brought in writing, and called for in
 " succession, either alphabetically, by the name of the voters, or
 " numerically by the wards and numbers of houses;—either of
 " these methods would prevent that source of riot, the practice
 " of voting in party groups.

" 19. The truth of entry of every individual vote in each
 " parish would easily be examined, and the totals of the several
 " parishes in each district so easily collected, that we scruple
 " not to assert, a general Election might be decided, with in-
 " disputable certainty, in twelve hours.

" 20. In saying the whole island should be considered as one
 " corporation, we do not wish to be understood as recommending
 " that districts should chuse their representatives from distant
 " parts. On the contrary, we think the representative should
 " always be a resident of the district, as his character would be
 " better known to his constituents. Hearsay characters are sel-
 " dom any other than the blazonings of faction.

" 21. It is indispensable to good government, that repre-
 " sentatives should be paid for their service to the public. The
 " want of open and honourable reward, retards the exertion of
 " laudable characters, and subjects the nation to the fraudulent
 " and delusive practices of mock patriots.

" 22. To those who are convinced of the propriety of the
 " foregoing ideas, and only ask, how shall we attain the practice
 " of them? we answer, *Associate*. By so doing, you will better
 " correct and strengthen each other's opinions on the subject of
 " liberty,

" liberty; and eventually abash the tools of corrupt influence and
 " lawless power—Effects which are not to be expected from the
 " vague and desultory exertion of individual opinions.

" Having thus stated what we conceive to be the sentiments of
 " the Society, we recommend that the members shall meet
 " in divisions, consisting as nearly as convenient of thirty mem-
 " bers each, and that the management of its affairs be vested
 " in one COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES, one SE-
 " LECT COMMITTEE, and one COUNCIL, subject
 " to REFERENCE TO THE DIVISIONS and TRIAL
 " BY JURY, as more particularly defined in the following
 " sections.

" *SECTION I. Form of Admission and Duty of a Member.*

" 1. Each Candidate for admission into this Society shall be
 " proposed by a member, who shall either belong to the division
 " in which the proposal is made, or be personally known as a
 " member of this society, to two members of such division.

" 2. The Secretary shall enter the name, residence and occu-
 " pation of the Candidate, together with the proposer's name,
 " and number, in the minute book of the division, and the Pre-
 " sident shall put the following question to the proposer :

" *Are you well acquainted with the Candidate you propose, with
 " his means of life, and his political principles, and are you well
 " assured that his general character is such as will not be disgrace-
 " ful to this Society?*

" 3. If the proposer shall answer the foregoing question in the
 " affirmative, the president shall demand of the Division, whether
 " any member has any objection to the candidate.

" 4. If no objection satisfactory to the Division shall be made,
 " the President shall put the following questions to the Can-
 " didate:

" *Are you convinced that every man who has attained to years
 " of discretion, is in possession of his reason, and not disqualified by
 " crimes, ought to have a vote for a Representative, and not more
 " than one vote?*

" Are you convinced that the representation ought to be divided
 " as nearly as possible in proportion to the number of electors?

" Are you convinced that the election of Representatives of the
 " People ought to be Annual?

" Will you, by all justifiable means, endeavour to promote a Re-
 " form in the Parliament of this country, agreeable to the prin-
 " ciples which you have now professed?

" 6. No member shall be allowed to stile himself, or any other,
 " by any party name, whether intended to convey respect or dis-
 " respect.

" 7. All political appellations which do not in their immediate
 " interpretation convey an idea of political sentiment or situation,
 " are party names. The following do not fall under this ob-
 " jection, as will appear by their explanations:

" *Republican*,---One who wishes to promote the general wel-
 " fare of his country.

" *Democrat*,---A supporter of the rights and power of the
 " people.

" *Aristocrat*,---One who wishes to promote the interest of a
 " few at the expence of many.

" *Royalist*,---Among the ignorant part of mankind, signifies,
 " a person attached to regal government: among artful courtiers,
 " it is a veil for their own aristocracy.

" *Loyalist*,---A supporter of the constitution of his country.

" *Citizen*,---The ancient appellation given to the members of
 " free States.

" *Subject*,---can only with propriety be applied to a member of
 " a State, whose government has been instituted by foreign con-
 " quest, or the prevalence of a domestic faction.

" SECTION II. *The Organization and Power of a Division.*

" 1. Each Division shall meet once in a week, on any evening
 " in the week, except Thursday and Sunday.

" 2. The hour and place of meeting shall be at the convenience
 " of each division, but must be announced to the constituted
 " bodies.

" 3. Each

“ 3. Each Division shall elect from its own members, a President, Vice-president, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Delegate and Sub-delegate.

“ 4. Each Division shall be furnished with three books, (viz.) one to bear the number of the Division,—A similar book, to be called the Supernumerary book of the same division,—and a third for entering minutes.

“ 5. No Division book shall contain more than 30 effective names:—subject to variation as hereafter mentioned.

“ 6. Members admitted after the Division shall amount to 30, shall be entered in the Supernumerary-book—but not before.

“ 7. As soon as the members entered in the Supernumerary-book, shall amount to 16, they shall be entitled to a number as a new Division: They shall determine the time and place of their future meeting; they shall receive a Supernumerary-book, and a minute-book, and a new supernumerary-book shall be delivered to the original Division.

“ 8. Members entered in any Supernumerary-book while less than 16, shall be entitled to vote, and, in every respect be considered as members of the Division to which such Supernumerary-book shall belong.

“ 9. No new member shall have a vote the same sitting, in which he is admitted; nor transferred member the same sitting in which he is transferred.

“ 10. Each Division shall be allowed one shilling and sixpence per week for rent, furniture, &c.

“ 11. Every member shall have liberty to introduce one stranger, provided such member shall answer that the sentiments of the stranger are similar to ours, and the same stranger shall not be introduced more than twice, except for the purpose of admission as a member.

“ 23. In case of persecution, and that the means provided by the VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth, Sections of this Constitution, should not produce the effect of re-establishing a representative body of this Society for two weeks successively, every division shall have power to elect four persons, whose powers shall

" be the same as the four officers of the Committee of De-
" legates.

" 24. The sole object of those four persons, shall be the re-
" establishment of the Representative Body, and they shall report
" progress weekly, and be weekly subject to revocation.

Mr. Attorney General. It then goes on to state the mode of election; the duty of the President and Vice-President; of the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary; the Delegates and Sub-Delegates. It then states the Committee of Delegates. Read the first four articles of that section, and the 14th and 21st.

" *SECTION VII—the Committee of Delegates.*

" 1. The Committee of Delegates is the representative and
" legislative body of this society.

" 2. Their duty is indivisible, and the representation shall not
" be impaired by any appointment, either of themselves, collec-
" tively, or of any other constituted body, which may subject the
" members thereof to be absent from their meeting, or to be
" parties concerned in any subject under their discussion.

" 3. Not less than Three-fourths of their whole number shall
" be a quorum, except in case of persecution.

" 4. There shall be no disparity or dissimilitude between the
" members, by offices of Presidency, or Secretaryship.

" 14. The duty of the Committee of Delegates is to direct
" the conduct of the executive powers in all matters which do
" not require secrecy or expedition.

" 21. If the executive powers, for the purpose of obtaining
" their approbation, shall communicate any thing which a ma-
" jority of the Delegates shall approve as necessary to be
" secretly done; the whole Committee of Delegates are bound
" to secrecy.

" *SECTION VIII—the Select Committee.*

" 8. No member of this Committee shall be admitted until
" he has answered in the affirmative, the following question,
" which

" which shall be put by the officers of the Committee of De-
" legates :

" Do you promise, that you will not relinquish the station which
" you are about to take in this Society, on account of any persecution,
" which may be brought on it. That you will persevere in
" meeting the Select Committee, and to the utmost of your power,
" encourage every other member of this Society, to fulfil the duty
" of his respective station ?

" *THEIR OFFICE IS,*

" 1. Preparatory as they may be directed, either collectively
" partially, or individually, by the Committee of Delegates, or
" the council.

" 2. Referential as to any matter adopted by the Committee
" of Delegates, or the Council, or by both, which they may
" judge improper.

" 3. All intended publications of this society shall, previous
" to being printed, undergo their collective examination.

" 4. One-third of their whole number shall be a quorum.

" *SECTION IX—the Council.*

" 1. Shall be composed of one Treasurer, one principal Se-
" cretary, and not less than four Assistant Secretaries.

" 6. The principal Secretary shall record all Laws which shall
" be made by this Society, which shall be printed annually.

" 13. Every member of the council shall be really acquainted
" with every transaction of this society, however secret.

" 14. Each member of the council shall have a complete list
" of the members of every division of this society, with their
" residences, which list he shall deposit to the best of his judg-
" ment, in a place of safety.

" *SECTION XI.—Of Accusation and Trial.*

" 1. If any member shall think another unworthy of being a
" member of this society, or that he has acted in any degree im-
" properly, he shall offer his accusation in writing, signed by him-
" self, in the Division of which the accused is a member.

" 2. Every accusation shall state the law on which it is grounded.

" 3. If the decision of the division shall be in favor of the accused, the trial shall go no farther; if not, the accuser shall give a statement of the case, in writing, to the Delegate of his own division, to be laid before the committee of Delegates.

" 4. No vote or resolution, touching any matter of accusation, shall pass in any division, except that of the accused, (as mentioned in the last Article) nor in any of the constituted Bodies.

" 5. The Delegates having received the case, shall elect four persons, not of their own body, nor of the division, or divisions concerned, to act as President, Secretary, Vice-President, and Assistant-Secretary in the ensuing trial.

" 6. They shall also issue notices to each division, except those of which the accuser or accused are members; mentioning the time and place of trial, and the four persons whom they have appointed to superintend it, and requiring each of them, to return one Jurymen.

" 7. Each division shall return, of its own members, one Jurymen, by lot; but none of the four persons appointed to superintend the trial, nor any member of any constituted body, shall be returnable.

" 8. Every Jurymen so drawn, and failing to attend at the appointed time, shall forfeit two shillings and sixpence, except in case of sickness; as shall also each superintendant.

" 9. The superintendants shall, by lot, take twelve names out of the whole number present, who shall be the jury for that trial, unless the accused object, which he may do to four of them, but not more.

" 10. The accuser and accused shall each be allowed one Assistant, at their own choice.

" 11. The President shall read the accusation, and call on the accuser to produce his evidence.

" 12. The evidence on the part of the accuser being closed, the accused may call his evidence.

" 13. During

" 13. During the time each witness is giving his evidence,
 " he may be cross examined by the Jury, the President, the
 " Accused, the Accuser, or either of their Assistants.

" 14. The evidence being closed, the Accused and his Assistant
 " shall be allowed to comment on it, and make his defence; but
 " the cross examination shall be deemed sufficient on the part of
 " the accuser.

" 15. If the President shall think proper, he may recapitulate
 " the principal points of the evidence, and comment on them.

" 16. The Jury shall give their verdict in writing, signed by
 " all their names.

" 17. If the Jury shall not within two hours agree, that the
 " Accused is guilty, he shall be acquitted.

" 18. The issue of the trial shall be reported to the Committee
 " of Delegates, and by them to the divisions.

Jane Rickman (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. You are the wife of Thomas Clio Rickman?

A. I am.

Q. What trade is your husband?

A. A bookfeller.

Q. Look at those books, and see who they appear to be
 printed by. [*Shewing the witness a copy of the large and of the small
 edition of the Second Part of the Rights of Man, and the Letter to
 the Addressers.*]

A. They are printed for my husband.

Q. Do you know Mr. Thomas Paine?

A. Yes.

Q. During the time that those books were printing, where
 did Mr. Paine lodge?

A. I believe he was gone out of England when they were
 printed.--I fancy so.

Q. Did he ever lodge, at any time, at your husband's?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time was it he lodged at your husband's?

A. From

A. From June to September, 1792.

Q. Did you ever see any of the sheets of that work while the printing was going on?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Where did you see them?

A. At our house.

Q. Your husband printed them?

A. No—he does not print.

Q. They were brought to your house as they were printed off?

A. I cannot say I saw them printing, if that is the question.

Q. The question is, did you see those sheets brought to your husband's house in the progress of the printing?

A. Yes, proof-sheets I have.

Q. Were they brought to your husband's house at the time Mr. Paine was in England?

A. They were.

Q. You see there are two editions; one a large, and the other a smaller edition?

A. Yes.

Q. Of those works, perhaps, a profit was made?

A. There was to have been; but I never had any profit: Mr. Paine told me that he had told Mr. Johnson we were to receive the profit.

Q. The profit of one, or both?

A. The small one.

Q. Who was to receive the profit of the larger edition?

A. Mr. Paine himself.—He told me the profit of the small one was to be divided between Mr. Symonds and my husband?

Q. Did Mr. Paine come to your house at the time of the printing, and had you any conversation with him about it?

A. He lodged at my house at the time.—The small edition was published after he left England; the large one, I believe, did not make its appearance; but some of the proof-sheets I had seen before he went away; but it was not published before he left England.

Jane Rickman cross-examined by Mr. Erskine.

Q. Do you mean to swear that these are two of the very books that were printed for Symonds and your husband?

A. To the best of my knowledge.

Q. Can you take upon you to swear that these are part of the copies actually printed for him, or may they not have been printed by somebody else, and be extremely like them?—You have never read the book through, so as to be able to say that it is the same—You only see that this is entitled “A Letter addressed to the Addressers;” but there may be news in it, for any thing you know?

A. I know nothing about what it contains.

Q. Nor do you know it by the type, the paper, or any thing about it?

A. I never saw it till it was in that state.—This pamphlet has my hand-writing upon it.

Mr. Attorney General. From whom had you those books?

A. They were sent to me from, I suppose, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Erskine. I submit to your Lordship, that this evidence is not sufficient to entitle them to read these pamphlets. I require, and I ask no more, that whenever it relates to this Society or that —no matter what bearing it may have upon the issue of the cause, that they should be fixed by the same evidence as would be necessary if they were tried for the publication of a Libel.—I am sure the Attorney General will not propose to have a looser proof in the case of High Treason, than in a misdemeanor.

Mr. Attorney General. I have given no evidence yet, that I mean to give loose proof in this cause; but I by no means admit the proposition to the extent in which Mr. Erskine states it.

Thomas Clio Rickman (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Bower.

Q. Look at these two books—Did you publish one or both of them?

A. They were printed with my name.

Q. With your knowledge?

A. No—without my knowledge.

Q. How came they, do you know, to be printed with your name—Did you know it at the time?

A. I

A. I never did know it, till I was written to, that that was the case---I was then in the country.

Q. At what time did you learn that these books were printed in your name?

A. I think it must be early in September, 1792.

Q. When you found that they were printed with your name, did you make any application to any body to know why they were printed with your name?

A. I did go to Mr. Johnson about that.

Q. Who were to have the profit of those books?

A. That I never knew but what I heard from my wife.

Q. Thomas Paine, we understand, lodged at your house?

A. He did.

Q. Did you ever see any of the sheets of those works while the printing was going on?

A. No, not as the printing was going on.

Q. Were any proof-sheets, before the work was printed, brought to you?

A. Never.

Q. Look at them, and tell us, whether either of them were the books that you printed?

A. I did not print the books at all.

Q. Did you publish them?

A. My name was put to them.

Q. Did you ever sell any of them?

A. Yes, many.

Q. When did you sell any of those books?

Mr. Gibbs. Do you think that is evidence?---I do not mean to moot the question.

Mr. Bower. Whose hand-writing is it upon that copy?

A. My wife's hand-writing, I believe.

Mr. Attorney General. In the course of your business, did you ever know of any other book entitled "An Address to the Addressers?"

Mr. Erskine. I am sure this evidence is very imperfect---no man could be fined five pounds upon such evidence.

A. I never saw any book of that title but this,

Mr.

Mr. Attorney-General. Are you a member of the Constitutional Society?

A. I was.

Mr. Erskine. Do you mean to take upon you to swear that these are two of the identical books that were sent to you for sale?

A. I do not.

Mr. Erskine. They may be exactly like them, or part like them, and yet be printed by others—Is there any thing in the paper, or the type, that can enable you to swear to them?

A. No. I know nothing about printing.

Mr. Attorney-General. I should like to know how you could prove Locke's Essay upon Human Understanding otherwise: Is that the book you sold at your shop as an Address to the Addressers, when such a book was asked for?

A. It was such a kind of book as this.

Q. Look at the matter of the book?

Mr. Erskine. Will your Lordship allow a man to look at a book to which he cannot swear, in order to prove that that is the identical book?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. It is not likely that he should have knowledge enough of the work to be able to answer the question; but if he could satisfy us that he knew that this book contained the identical words that were in the books that were commonly published under that title, to this purpose perhaps it might be evidence.

Mr. Erskine. Not having the original book here, could he be permitted to say, I do not bring the original book but I bring a copy?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If we could be sure it was an exact copy of the same book it would be the same as the original; they are all copies.

Mr. Attorney General. Suppose the Constitutional Society referred to Locke's Essay upon the Human Understanding, how is it possible to identify that book without calling the bookseller to prove that that is the book which he sells for Lock's Essay on the Human Understanding.

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. As that would refer merely to the contents of the book, it would be very good evidence of the contents.

Mr. Attorney-General. This is what I am asking to.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You certainly are, but whether he goes to the length of that is the question.

Mr. Attorney-General. Is that the book you would have sold as the Address to the Addressers, by Thomas Paine?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. But did he ever read it?

Mr. Attorney-General. I would not ask the question, unless I was very well apprized, according to my information, of what knowledge this witness has of it.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Go on in your own course.

Mr. Attorney-General. Do you know the contents of it?

A. I have read the book.

Q. Look and see, whether by the contents of it that is the book you would sell as the Address to the Addressers, by Thomas Paine, if you had been asked by a customer for Paine's Address to the Addressers, without any explanation?

A. I should certainly sell this book as the Letter to the Addressers, because it is so entitled.

Q. Look at the contents of it: I will have an answer to this if I make you read it through?

A. I have certainly read the Letter to the Addressers.

Q. Look at the contents of the book in your hand, and see if the contents are the same as the Letter to the Addressers which you read?

A. I have no doubt of its being the same.

Q. Is it not from the contents that you have no doubt?

A. No, I confess it is from the complexion of the book itself.

Q. You have been told to look at the contents; now look at the contents.

A. I have looked at them.

Q. Then have you any doubt that that is the Letter to the Addressers?

A. Certainly, I have no doubt.

Thomas

Thomas Clio Rickman—Cross-examined by Mr. Erskine.

Q. Is the reason why you have no doubt from the general appearance of the book, or have you no doubt because you have satisfied your understanding, by comparing that book with the recollection you have of the former, having a perfect recollection of every sentence in the former?

A. Not of every sentence.

Q. Then could you take upon you to swear, that it is exactly the same, word by word, and letter by letter?

A. I have not sworn that.

Mr. Attorney-General. Have you any doubt that it is the same?

A. I have not.

Mr. Attorney-General. Put it into the hands of Mrs. Rickman. Did not you put them in the shop, and mark them as books to be sold?

Mrs. Rickman. I put my name on them.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. When?

A. On giving them to Mr. White.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. In your shop?

A. No.

Mr. Attorney-General. You had them in your shop as books to sell?

A. I had.

Mr. Erskine. I understand the Court to be of opinion (indeed I am not at all disposed to argue it) that this book must be taken, at present, to be the Letter addressed to the Addressers, upon the Proclamation, by Thomas Paine. What I wish to know, is, how it is proposed to make this taking it to be the book it is alledged to be, evidence in this cause. I perfectly understand why the Rights of Man were stated to be so, because those whom this prosecution proposes to implicate in certain acts—the Corresponding Society, having come to a resolution to circulate it, therefore it was fair evidence.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You had better hear how they propose to make it evidence.

Mr. Erskine. I understand that there is no evidence yet before the

the Court of any resolution of either of the societies to circulate this book, or to recommend it to reading.

Mr. Attorney-General. Your Lordship will give me leave to observe, that Mr. Paine has been proved to be the author of the first part of the Rights of Man; the second part of the Rights of Man—the Letter to the French Nation; and I believe (though I am not accurate about that, because I was not in Court yesterday morning) a Letter to Mr. Dundas.—Mr. Paine is proved to be also a member of the Constitutional Society; Mr. Rickman, the witness, the person in whose hands this work was, in order to be sold, is also proved to be a member of the Constitutional Society. Now, under these circumstances, I submit to the Court, that Mr. Paine and Mr. Rickman being both of them members of the Constitutional Society, what one writes for publication, and the other publishes, is evidence after what has been already stated.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I cannot imagine myself, that those facts, which are so perfectly distinct from the particular subject of this indictment, can possibly implicate them so as to make their publications evidence in this cause.

Mr. Attorney-General. Then we will make it evidence in a moment, because I shall now produce to your Lordships a resolution in the book of the Society, for printing part of this in the Argus, and then I shall read that part which is printed in the Argus.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You might read the whole, and then prove a resolution of the society for printing a part, because that proves them cognizant of it, having selected a part.

Mr. Erskine. It may shew a knowledge, but does not shew an approbation?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Certainly not.

Mr. Attorney General. I will not trouble your Lordship with this any farther.

Mr. Gurnell. I found these papers in Mr. Hardy's house.

They were read.

“ FELLOW CITIZEN,

“ The bare-faced aristocracy of the present administration, has
 “ made it necessary that we should be prepared to act on the de-
 “ fensive

“ defensive against any attack they may command their newly-armed
“ minions to make upon us.—A plan has been hit upon, and if
“ encouraged sufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of fur-
“ nishing a quantity of pikes to the patriots great enough to make
“ them formidable. The blades are made of steel, tempered and
“ polished after an approved form. They may be fixed into any
“ shafts (but *fir* ones are recommended) of the girth of the ac-
“ companying hoops at the top end, and about an inch more at
“ the bottom.

“ The blades and hoops (more than which cannot properly be
“ sent to any great distance) will be charged one shilling. Money
“ to be sent with the orders.

“ As the institution is in its infancy, immediate encourage-
“ ment is necessary.

“ Orders may be sent to the secretary of the *Sheffield Constitu-*
“ *tional Society.* [Struck out.]

“ *Sheffield, April* “ **RICHARD DAVISON.**

“ 24, 1794.

“ To prevent post suspicion, direct to Mr. Robert Moody,
“ Joiner, Cheney-square, Sheffield. Please to forward the in-
“ closed.”

Addressed, “ *Citizen Hardy, No. 9, Piccadilly, London.*”

The following Letter was inclosed in the last.

“ Fellow Citizen,

“ The bare-faced aristocracy of the present administration,
“ has made it necessary to prepare to act upon the defensive, in
“ case of any attack upon the patriots: a plan has been formed
“ for carrying into effect this necessary business.—Pike blades
“ are made, with hoops for the shafts to fit the top ends: the
“ bottom ends of the shafts should be about an inch thicker, and
“ *fir* is recommended for the shafts, selected by persons who are
“ judges of wood. The blades and hoops will be sold at the rate
“ of one shilling, properly tempered and polished. The money
“ sent with the orders.

“ **RICHARD DAVISON.**

" Direct to Mr. Robert Moody, Joiner, Cheney-square, Sheffield, to prevent the post-master's suspicion.

Addressed.—" *To the Secretary of the
" Norwich Patriotic Society.*"

Mr. Attorney General. We will now prove that there was a person of the name of William Camage connected with the Sheffield Constitutional Society; and that those letters are of his handwriting.

William Cammage (sworn).

Examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Was you a member of a Society for Constitutional Information, at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first begin to be such member?

A. About the latter end of the year 1791.

Q. Did you ever act as secretary to that society?

A. Yes.

Q. For how long?

A. I cannot exactly tell the time; perhaps near five or six months.

Q. When did you cease to act in that capacity?

A. About the latter end of April or May of the last year.

Q. Did you in that character write letters for the society?

A. I did not—I used to sign the letters.

Q. By whom was the business of that society managed?

A. I cannot speak positively; by different persons.

Q. Did they form a committee? or in what other manner did they conduct the business of the society?

A. Yes, there was a committee.

Q. Who were the leading persons of that committee?

A. One David Martin used to attend that committee, John Alcock, George Widdison, Matthew Lodwin,

Mr. Attorney General. It will be necessary to call the attention of the court and the jury to the names, to see how many of the people

people here named were of that number of twelve, that were associated into the Constitutional Society about the beginning of May 1792?

Mr. Law. In the conversations amongst the members of that society, what was the professed object at the time when you first became a member?

A. A parliamentary reform.

Q. Did that continue to be their professed object? or did they profess any other, and what object, towards the latter part of the time of your continuance with that society?

A. That continued to be their object during my secretaryship.

Q. Did you continue to communicate with that society as a member of it since you ceased to be secretary?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the professed object subsequent to that time, after you ceased to be secretary, and continued to communicate with them as a member?

A. I cannot speak properly to that; there will be another secretary examined, that can speak more properly to it than I can.

Q. Do you remember the society at Sheffield choosing any person to be their delegate to the Scotch Convention?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was the person chosen?

A. Matthew Campbell Brown.

Q. Do you know whether Brown went upon that delegation?

A. I believe he did.

Q. Do you know whether he was ever taken into custody?

A. I believe he was.

Q. Did you go down to him at the time he was in custody?

A. He was at large when I went to him. I was sent down to him at Edinburgh by the society.

Q. What was you sent to him for?

A. To carry him a supply of cash.

Q. Did you so?

A. I did.

Q. What sum of money

A. I took him, I believe, to the amount of ten pounds from Sheffield; and I called at Leeds, and took him near the same sum from Leeds.

Q. Did you carry him money from any other societies?

A. I did not.

Q. Do you know how the money you so carried him was collected?

A. I cannot tell.

One of the Jury. Did you go to Scotland with this money?

A. Yes.

Mr. Law. Did you see him at Edinburgh?

A. I did.

Q. How were your own expences defrayed?

A. At the expence of the society.

Q. Who did you receive the money immediately from?

A. I believe I received it from the hands of Mr. Gale.

Q. Who is he?

A. A printer at Sheffield.

Q. Was he a member of the Constitutional Society there?

A. I believe he was.

Q. Do you remember any person of the name of Yorke or Redhead becoming a member of that society, before you gave up your place as secretary?

A. I knew one Henry Yorke.

Q. Have you ever known him by any other name?

A. No.

Q. Do you know where Gale, the printer, is now?

A. I do not know any thing concerning where he is.

Q. Has he ceased to be seen at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. You know a person of the name of Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you known him before or since by any other name?

A. No, never.

Q. He attended the meeting of this Society?

A. Yes.

2d W. Q.

I

Q. Since

Q. Since the time that he became a member of the Society at Sheffield, did he attend the meetings pretty regularly ?

A. No he did not.

Q. Did he take any active part in the proceedings of the meetings when he did attend ?

A. He used to exhort sometimes in the meetings when he did attend.

Q. Do you recollect the subject of his exhortations ?

A. No, they were too complicated for me at present to recollect.

Q. Did you ever hear him mention the subject of arms ?

A. No never in public.

Q. What were the means that he recommended to the Society to carry into effect the objects they professed to be desirous of attaining ?

A. A Parliamentary Reform.

Q. What were the means to be used ?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. How was that to be brought about ?

A. By petitioning Parliament first, that was his exhortation.

Mr. Law. What was the next measure, supposing their Petition rejected ; what was then to be done ?

A. I never heard any specific plan pointed out by him.

Q. No specific plan ?

A. No, no plan pointed out by him.

Q. You said he did not in public advise the use of arms ; what have you heard him advise upon that subject in private ?

Mr. Erskine. What he advised in private !

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If he is proved to have been at any of the Corresponding Societies meetings.

Mr. Erskine. But what a man says in private !

Mr. Attorney General. He was a member of the Corresponding Society, a Delegate from the Constitutional Society ?

Mr. Erskine. My idea is this, what an agent might say in a separate case in private—

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. He is not an agent, but a party.

Mr. Law. The time I am enquiring about, was when he was at Sheffield. Have you heard him in private recommend the use of arms ?

A. The society was threatened to be dispersed in their meetings by the People of Sheffield, by the opposite party.

Q. Upon that threat of dispersion what did he advise?

A. In private, the people thought it necessary that they should have arms for their defence, and he approved of it—he did not see any harm in the business, but they had a right to be armed for their own defence.

Q. Against what?

A. Against any illegal attack from that party.

Q. Who were the people that thought it necessary to have arms?

A. The friends of reform, to protect their meetings.

Q. The Constitutional Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did you hear, what member of the Constitutional Society, express such an idea?

A. It was a general idea amongst a great many, whom I cannot name at present.

Q. And Yorke you say approved of that idea?

A. He did.

Q. Did you ever hear him mention any particular sort of arms as distinguished from arms in general?

A. No—not at the first.

Q. Did you never hear him recommend any particular species of arms to be used for this purpose?

A. He was shown the blade of a pike which he approved of.

Q. By whom was he shown that blade?

A. By me, and Henry Hill.

Q. Who is Henry Hill?

A. He is here as a witness.

Q. What is his way of life?

A. A shoe maker's knife-forgery.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. By whom was that pike made?

A. By Hill, I believe.

Mr. Law. Did he mention any other sort of arms?

A. No he did not.

Q. Instruments?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. Had you ever any conversation with him respecting muskets?

A. I do not recollect that I ever had.

Q. You showed him a pike, did he approve or disapprove of the form of the pike that you showed him?

A. He approved of that form that we showed him at that time.

Q. Did he suggest any alteration to be made in the form of the Pike?

A. Not in that.

Q. What other Pyke was shewn him with respect to which he did suggest any alteration?

A. I believe he had another shown him.

Q. Was you present?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear him talk of that other Pike which you believe to have been shown to him?

A. No—I never did.

Q. Had you before Yorke came amongst you had any recommendation of arming for the defence of your societies?

Mr. Attorney General.—Did he mention any country in which pikes had been used?

A. No—I never heard him mention any thing of the sort; of Pikes being used in any country.

Mr. Law. How soon after this Pike was shown to Mr. Yorke do you know of any being begun to be made at Sheffield?

A. I do not know of any before that.

Q. Do you know of any considerable quantity being made after that time?

A. I do not know of any quantity not to exceed three dozen that I was concerned in myself.

Q. By whom were these three dozen made?

A. By Henry Hill I believe.

Q. Do you know one Widdison of Fargate-street in Sheffield, a turner?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether he was employed in making any part of these Pikes?

A. I have heard him say he was employed to make a dozen of handles.

Q. Had you any conversation with Widdifon in the presence of Yorke?

A. No.

Q. Was you never at Yorke's lodgings with Widdifon?

A. I have been there when Widdifon has been there, but I do not recollect any conversation that passed between Widdifon and Yorke.

Q. Did you ever see a pike handle at Widdifon's in the same form as that you showed to Yorke?

A. Yes—I have seen the form of the handle in Widdifon's possession.

Q. Of the same form as that you showed to Yorke?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Do you know how Widdifon came by that?

A. I do not.

Mr. Law.—Was it in the day time or at night that you went to Yorke's about them?

A. In the night.

Q. What time of night?

A. Between eight and nine o'clock I believe.

Q. Did Yorke take it in his hand?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he look at it for any length of time?

A. No.

Q. Do you recollect what he said upon looking at it, whether it would do or not?

A. No—he made no particular observation.

Q. But that he approved of that?

A. Yes—he did.

Q. From the conversation which passed between Yorke and Hill and you, could you collect whether Yorke had had any pikes shown him before of a construction which he did not approve?

A. I

A. I understood not, by the conversation at that time—but I understood by Henry Hill that he had shown him that before.

Mr. Erskine.—That will not do, not that it signifies anything?

Mr. Law. Recollect yourself—of what number of persons might that meeting consist at which Yorke recommended them to provide themselves with arms?

A. No meeting, only at his own private lodgings.

Q. How many persons were present?

A. I do not know that any were there at that time but himself and me.

Q. Was there any other time besides that once when he recommended providing yourselves with arms?

A. I do not recollect any other time.

Q. Do you recollect any meeting in the month of March, at which the providing of arms was talked of?

A. I was not present at that meeting, if you mean in this year.

Mr. Law. Yes.

A. I was not at that meeting when there were arms recommended if such a thing passed—I never heard that there was a meeting of that sort—I was not present at such a meeting.---

Q. Have the goodness to recollect yourself---you was present at a meeting in March?

A. Not where the arms were recommended.---

Q. I am not speaking of a meeting of the society, but was you present in company with Yorke, and others, at any meeting in the month of March 1794, when Yorke recommended the use of arms or providing of arms?

A. I was not.

Q. On the Castle Hill—Do you remember a meeting on the Castle Hill?

A. Yes, I was at the Castle Hill.

Q. Did he recommend any thing of the kind then?

A. No.

Q. You know one Davison who lived with Gale the Printer?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever see any Pikes when he was present?

A. No,

A. No, I never did see any in his possession.

Q. Did you in his presence ?

A. No.

Q. Do you know one Robert Moody ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any meeting in the month of April, or in any month in the year 1794 when Mr. Yorke recommended the providing themselves with arms ?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you remember any speech made by Yorke upon the Castle Hill at Sheffield ?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he recommend in that speech respecting the Reform of Parliament ?

A. That I cannot recollect at present, not to make mention of the words he made use of.

Q. Did he recommend to them not to petition Parliament, or what ?

Mr. Erskine. What did he say ? Is that a way to put a question to your own witness ?

Mr. Law. Did he recommend that Parliament should be petitioned, or that they should not ?

A. That they should not, and a resolve was passed to that purpose.

Q. Did he recommend any other means ?

A. No.

Q. Did you hear an address to the nation ever talked of ?

A. I heard something of the kind of an address to the people.

Q. Was it recommended by Yorke ?

A. Yes, I believe it was.

Q. Then he recommended to them not to petition Parliament, but to forbear to petition Parliament; that was agreed upon, and he recommended an address to the nation ? Did Yorke walk home or go home in any sort of triumph ?

A. After the meeting was over he was conducted home, I believe, in a carriage.

Q. Sup-

Q. Suppose you tell us the fact what you mean by conducted home?

A. Without Horfes.

Q. Drawn by the people in triumph?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Yorke say any thing respecting a Convention?

A. No I never did.

Q. Never?

A. No never.

Q. Did you ever hear him mention what would be the best means of redressing grievances?

A. No I never did, not a word.

Q. And have never sworn that you heard him say a word of that sort—Never about a redress of grievances?

A. No I do not know that I have.

Q. Or any thing respecting Conventions?

A. No I have heard him mention his disapproving of the Scotch Convention.

Q. On what ground did he profess himself to disapprove of the Scotch Convention?

A. He thought it a wrong piece of business for the People to assemble, for he thought the People very much unprepared.

Q. In what respect did he mean unprepared?

A. I do not recollect what he said.

Q. Did he mention any steps that they should have taken preparatory to assembling a Convention?

A. I do not recollect any thing that he mentioned in particular preparative to the meeting of the Convention.

Q. You was down at Edinburgh?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he state any thing that they should have done before they declared themselves a British Convention?

Q. I think he mentioned that they should have first brought out an address to the People before they declared themselves to be a Convention, or to that purpose.

Mr.

Mr. Attorney General. Look at that paper, Did you ever see that before?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you see that letter before?

A. In the possession of Richard Davison.

Q. At what place did you see that letter in the possession of Davison?

A. At my own House.

Q. In Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that the letter we have read that was sent to Hardy? Did you ever see that paper before?

A. No I do not recollect this letter.

Q. You have seen it before?

A. Yes I have.

Q. How long had Davison lived at Sheffield?

A. I cannot rightly tell, he came to live at Sheffield about the beginning of this year.

Q. Where did he come from?

A. From Leeds.

Q. Was he in one of the Societies at Leeds?

A. I believe he acted as Secretary to the Society at Leeds, when I went to Edinburgh.

Mr. Attorney General. Your Lordship will find his name to the letter from Leeds that has been read. Had you any conversation about the place to which the person to whom that letter was directed was to send his answer to Moody?

A. That the direction in that letter should be Robert Moody from London.

Q. Did he give a reason for that?

A. I do not recollect he did; there is the name of Brodie which is scratched out.

Q. Had you any talk how that happened, that a letter was to come to him directed to Moody?

A. We had reasons to believe that the letters to the Secretary were sometimes intercepted.

Q. What

Q. What is Moody?

A. A carpenter and joiner.

Q. Had he any thing to do with pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. What is Widdison?

A. A hair-dresser and turner.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What had Moody to do with pikes?

A. He put handles, I believe, to three dozen.

Q. What length were the handles?

A. I believe some were about seven feet.

Q. What length were the blades?

A. About ten inches.

Q. What shape were the blades?

A. About the same shape as a bayonet.

Q. Do you mean they were fluted like a bayonet?

A. Yes.

One of the Jury. And pointed?

A. Yes.

Juryman. In the form and shape of a bayonet?

A. Yes.

Mr. Attorney General. Were there any of any other shape?

A. No, none that were made---none that were shafted.

Q. Were there any made that were not shafted, of any other shape?

A. There was one that was made before, that was not of that shape.

Q. Was that one that was not of that shape ever shewn to York?

A. Yes, I believe it was the one that Hill took up to Mr. Yorke.

Q. You saw that one?

A. Yes, I have seen it.

Q. Those that were actually shafted were in the shape of a bayonet?

A. Yes.

Q. And the handle seven feet long, and the blade about ten inches?

A. I

A. I think so.

Q. What wood were the handles made of?

A. I believe of fir.

Q. Was there any particular reason given why the handles were made of fir?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. You see there is a reason in the letter read just now?

A. Yes.

Mr. Erskine. This examination is not regular—for this is Mr. Law's evidence—but I do not care about it.

Mr. Attorney General. Has Davison been long at Sheffield?

A. No.

Q. Do you know where he is now?

A. No—I have never heard of him since I was taken up.

Q. Had he left Sheffield at that time?

A. Yes, he had left it about a fortnight before I was taken up.

Q. Had Gale left it?

A. Yes.

Q. How long before you was taken up?

A. Nearly about the same time, I believe.

Q. Did you ever hear of such a thing as a cat?

A. Yes.

Q. What is that—what is the other name of it?

A. A night-cat, I believe.

Q. What is a night-cat?

A. It stands four ways---about this shape. (*describing it.*)

Q. Have you seen one?

A. I have seen the model of one.

Q. When?

A. I cannot recollect---about five or six weeks before I was taken up?

Q. Had you ever seen such a thing before?

A. No, never.

Q. What is the use of a night-cat?

A. The use of it, I understood, was for acting against the cavalry.

Q. Why,

Q. Why, how was a night-cat to act against cavalry?

A. I cannot tell---I have mentioned all I can tell about it---I never saw a thing of that sort before---that is all I know about it.

Q. You, a Sheffield man, must know how such a thing as that could hurt a horse?

A. By throwing it in the streets.

Q. Would it run into his neck, or what other part?

A. Into his foot, I should suppose.

William Camage.

Cross-examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. You were asked this question by the Counsel for the Crown, From what passed amongst the members, what was the professed object of this society? To which you answered, a parliamentary reform?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that your object when you became a member of that society?

A. Yes.

Q. You say you was secretary to that society?

A. Yes.

Q. From the year 1791, to 1793?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain to the Gentlemen of the Jury, when you became a member of this society, in order to obtain a parliamentary reform. You were asked, what passed among the different members? What was their object? What sort of parliamentary reform was it, that you fairly, as a man, meant?

A. A more equal representation of the people.

Q. A more equal representation of the people, where?

A. In parliament.

Q. In what branch of parliament?

A. In the House of Commons.

Q. Had you any idea by a parliamentary reform, in your own mind, when you became a member, or when you continued there, to touch the King's Majesty, or the House of Lords?

A. No,

A. No, never---I never had that idea.

Q. Never in your life?

A. No.

Q. I ask you, in the presence of God, to whom you will answer, had you any idea of destroying the King, or the House of Lords?

A. No, God forbid.

Q. Had you ever, in the whole course of your being a member of that Society, and a Secretary, from any proceedings of the Assembly, from what passed among the members, from what they said and did (I follow the question which the Counsel correctly put), had you any reason to think that any of them meant differently from yourself?

A. No, never---not an individual amongst the whole Society.

Q. Then I understand you to say, upon the oath you have taken, and subject to the consequences here and hereafter, that there was no such idea either in your own mind, or from what you knew from others, what they said and what they did, in the mind of any other of the members?

A. Never.

Q. When you said that the resolve was not to petition parliament, did you mean not to petition it at that time, or never to petition it, when the sentiments of the people at large could be known?

A. I cannot speak to that---There was no specific plan ever pointed out, by what means redress should be obtained.

Q. Was it ever pointed out, or from any thing which passed in your presence during all your attendance, that this change in the representation of the people in the House of Commons was to be carried by force of arms and violence?

A. No, never.

Q. If you had had an idea that the members of your Society, or of other Societies in the different parts of the kingdom, meant by combining force to over-rule the inclinations of the people at large, and the inclinations of the parliament, would you have continued a member of it?

A. No;

A. No; I would not.

Q. I ask you, under the solemnity of the oath which you are under, to say, whether you ever heard any thing said, or saw any thing done, that led you to believe, or to suspect, that that was the intention of your society?

A. No; never.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing said, or see any thing done, which led you to suspect, that it was the intention, even of any mischievous individuals among you?

A. No; I never suspected it; I never had cause to suspect any one.

Q. If you had had an idea, independently of force, that the object you was about might ultimately have affected the safety and honour of your Sovereign upon the throne, would you have continued in that society?

A. No; I would not.

Q. You say you continued Secretary till the year 1793.---Did you read, with attention, all that you signed;---or did you take it on trust, from the opinion you entertained of the general objects of the society, that it was all as it ought to be?

A. I generally read it before I signed it;---I do not know that I ever signed a letter till I had read it.

Q. Did you continue to be a member after you ceased to be Secretary?

A. I did.

Q. Did you continue to be a member up to the time when you was taken up?

A. I did.

Q. Did you see any reason, before the time you was taken up, to change your sentiments concerning the opinions of those with whom you associated?

A. I did not.

Q. Have you had any reason to believe; I ask you to look in upon your own soul, when you answer the question, that, though they might not intend mischief originally when associated, they began to intend mischief?

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A. No;

A. No; I never did.

Q. When was it that your meetings began to be threatened with interruption?

A. It was about the month of April, I fancy; as near as I can guess, the beginning of April or March, 1794.

Q. Do you remember the time when the Convention was to meet in Edinburgh?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any thing proposed by the society of which you were a member, or did you ever hear any thing said, or see any thing done to the effect, that this Convention was to put down the King, and the Upper House, and to be itself the King and the Parliament?

A. Never.

Q. Did it ever enter into your conception, that this Convention was to make laws for the public, or perform the functions of any part of the State?

A. No; I never understood it so.

Q. Was it then to consider, what would be the best means, in a legal manner, to effect a change in the representation of the people, in the House of Commons?

A. By petitioning Parliament, at the meeting of the Scotch Convention; that was the idea that the Sheffield Society had, at that time.

Q. Whether it was not universally said, among your society, (I am following Mr. Law's question) that, though a petition from a small number of individuals would be neglected, and therefore you laid aside petitioning, whether it was not the general declarations,---I am not speaking of men's secret ideas, but as far as they were manifested,---that when you had got the sentiments of a great number of a respectable part of the people, and were then to petition, at a Convention, that the House of Commons would attend to your petition, though they would not attend to a petition from a small body of men?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that your idea?

A. At that time it was.

Q. Was that, upon your oath, what you collected to be the general sentiments of the people?

A. Yes, it was; and my own ideas.

Q. Was you, while you continued a member of the society, and up to the time that you was taken up, really a friend to the British Constitution, in its purity?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Had you any wish to bring into England, the desolations and the anarchies that are in France?

A. No; never.

Q. Had you a wish to see the King put down from his throne, we will not even talk of his death, but had you a wish to see the King, and the Royal Family, put down from their state and dignity?

A. No; God forbid that I should ever live to see it.

Q. Should not you have thought yourself the most wicked and abandoned of mankind, if you had remained an hour in that society, if you had thought that the wish of that society?

A. Yes; I should have thought so.

Q. Did you, from what you saw, or from what you heard, suspect that to be behind the curtain, and the intentions of those people, though they expressed themselves differently?

Mr. Garrow. I must beg to object to that question; it is for the jury, what this man suspected was behind the curtain.

Mr. Attorney General. I certainly will not object to it.--- I desire to be understood, that I, by no means, agree that it is a question that could be put, unless I consented to it.

Mr. Erskine. And I am much more pleased to accept it, upon the Attorney General's declaration now, than to argue the point, whatever might be my own opinion concerning it.---Then, from what you observed, saw, and heard, had you any reason to believe then, or do you now believe, that, though the papers that were signed carried upon the faces of them parliamentary reform, as you have expressed it, that there was an intention, in point of fact, to destroy the Constitution of Great-Britain?

A. No; I never had reason, in my life, to believe any such thing.

Q. You say, for the first time, you began to be interrupted in your proceedings, in 1793?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the nature of the threats you received, and what were you afraid of?

A. We were afraid of the opposite party making an attack upon us in our meetings, or out of doors.

Q. What do you mean by the opposite party, the King and Parliament, or the people in Sheffield, of a different opinion?

A. The people in Sheffield, of a different opinion.

Q. You were afraid of the opposite party, of the people who thought differently from you, that they intended to persecute you?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you believe, at the time you was threatened to be interrupted, that you were doing what was legal?

A. Yes; we believed we were doing every thing that was legal.

Q. Did you, for one, believe you was doing what was legal?

A. Yes; I did not know that I was committing any thing that was wrong. I never heard that any thing was not right.

Q. What was the nature of the apprehension that you had, at the time that Mr. Yorke proposed your having arms to defend yourselves?

A. The opinion I had was, that the people, if they meant to attack us, would do it by force of arms themselves.

Q. What people?

A. The opposite party to us in Sheffield.

Q. Had you any other intention, or from all that you heard in your society, from Mr. Yorke himself, or any body in your society, that any other use was intended to be made of these three dozen of pikes, or any thing else you had, but merely to defend yourselves?

A. Nothing else.

Q. Do you believe, from any thing you heard or saw, that it was in the contemplation of any body to employ these pikes, or any other arms, against the King and the Parliament?

A. No; never.

Q. Would you have remained an hour in that society, if you had any reason to see, that that was the use intended to be made of those arms?

A. No; I would not.

Q. Did you believe—I am not asking you the law, for you cannot be supposed to know any thing of the law—Did you believe that you had a right to arms for your defence, under the law of your country?

A. I did believe I had.

Q. Under what law?

A. By the Bill of Rights.

Q. Was that the manner in which the right to have these arms was debated in your society?

A. I do not remember any debate.

Q. But was any thing said about your right to have arms, if you were attacked by malicious people?

A. We thought we had a right to defend ourselves, founded upon the Bill of Rights, against any of those people that might attack us.

Mr. Attorney General. Who told you that you had that right?

A. I have heard Mr. Yorke say so.

Mr. Erskine. Was it ever debated amongst you, that, if you were commanded by the whole authority of the State, that you was to raise arms amongst the people to support the authority of your Convention as a Parliament?

A. No; I never heard that debated.

Q. Was there ever any hint, that the laws were to be made by those twenty or thirty people at Edinburgh?

A. No; I never heard any such thing.

Q. What did you consider these people at Edinburgh were to do, who were a Convention from these different societies?

A. I cannot speak to what their business was when met together.

Q. Were they to consider what were the best means to go on, in a legal and peaceable manner, to obtain a Parliamentary Reform?

A. I supposed so; I understood it so.

Q. Did you know Mr. Hardy?

A. I never did.

Q. Did you really think, that you were contending for rights that rendered more secure, and more permanent, the King's title?

A. I did; I always looked upon it as such.

Q. Do you recollect why that particular species of arms was recommended, or any thing said about these pikes?

A. I believe it was the cheapness of the article.

Q. You saw a model of this cat?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you an inhabitant of Sheffield at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever see such a thing, or know that there was any one made from that model?

A. No; I never did.

Q. Did you ever see such a one in the kingdom of Great-Britain?

A. The person I got it of said he had seen such things, many years before, at Newcastle.

Q. But you never saw, nor none of your society, to your knowledge, ever saw any instrument made after this model?

A. No; not that I know of.

William Camage.

Re-examined by *Mr. Attorney General.*

Q. You say this man told you he had seen some of these night-cats at Newcastle?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he tell you at what time, in the history of his life, he had seen them there?

A. It was during his life time.

Q. Was it at any particular period of the history of the country, did he tell you?

A. No; he did not mention the year he had seen them in.

Q. You know what I mean perfectly well.—Did he tell you what was going on in the country, at the time he saw them at Newcastle?

A. I do

A. I do not recollect that he did.---I think he said it was some time about the American war;---about the close of it.

Q. You say you expected opposition from the other party, at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. How came you and Davison to send a letter about sending pikes to London, in order to oppose the other party at Sheffield?

A. It was Davison sent the letter.

Q. So Davison sent a letter to London about pikes, you thinking they were to oppose the other party at Sheffield?

A. He might have the same views in it for the people of London, as for the people at Sheffield?

Q. You have talked about cavalry;---what were the opposite party at Sheffield; who were to attack you with cavalry?

A. I do not know.

Q. Why, what cavalry was this night-cat for?

A. It was only a model of one;---I never saw any made;---it was never to be put in execution.

Q. How came you to talk about cavalry?

A. It was when he was talking about the use of it.

Q. Your opinion was about the opposite party at Sheffield, and Davison's opinion, of course, about the opposite party in London?

A. Yes.

Q. That is what he calls the bare-faced Aristocracy of the present Administration?

A. He called it so.

Q. What did you understand by that, when he showed you this letter, before he sent it to London, about the pikes, upon your oath?

A. I only, upon my oath, understood that he meant the opposite party.

Q. Why this Davison, who meant as little as you did, was not so bold as you, for he ran away a fortnight before you were taken up?

A. Yes.

Q. How came he to do that?

M 4

A. I believe

A. I believe he heard of some persons being in Sheffield;--- that was the report.

Q. And so he thought so little about this innocent thing of the opposite party, that he ran away?

A. I cannot give any other reason.

Q. You told us that the cheapness of the article was the reason why you thought of pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. How much was the handle and the blade to cost?

A. Twenty-pence, I believe.

Q. So that thirteen-pence would not pay for them?

A. The hoop and the blade would come to that by themselves.

Q. If the blade and the hoop had come to London, at the price of one shilling, there would be some more expence to pay, that some body else must provide for?

A. Yes; there would be the shaft to it.

Q. Did you ever hear of such a place as the Parrot, in Green Harbour Alley, London?

A. No; I did not.

Q. Never?

A. No; I never did.

Q. Had you any conversation with Davison about these pikes, after he showed you this letter?

A. I do not recollect that I had any conversation with him at the time.

Q. But after?

A. No; not that I can bring to my recollection what it was.

William Broomhead (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. You reside at Sheffield, I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. What are you by business?

A. A Cutler.

Q. Was you a member of any society at Sheffield, which had the name of the Constitutional Society?

A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. At what time did you become a member of it?

A. At the first institution of the society, I think in the year 1791, when the society was first instituted.

Q. Was you one of twelve of that society which were afterwards associated with the Constitutional Society of London?

A. I was not then a member of any committee, nor did I act in any public character.

Q. That is not the question that I put to you; I ask, whether at any time you became an associated member of a society in London, called the Constitutional Society?

A. I never was a member of the Constitutional Society in London.

Q. I did not ask you whether you were or not, but whether you were one of the twelve of the Sheffield Society who were associated with the Constitutional Society in London?

A. We were above twelve when that Society was wrote to, and therefore I do not understand the question.

Q. I will explain the question to you: your society at Sheffield were more numerous than twelve?

A. Yes.

Q. And when you were more numerous than twelve, the Constitutional Society in London were written to by your society—Do you agree so far with me?

A. Yes.

Q. Did your society, when you wrote to the other society, propose any names of persons to be associated with the society in London?

A. I never heard that subject spoken of, nor any letter to that purpose.

Q. Did you know whether you, or any other persons of the Sheffield Society, were received as associated members of the Constitutional Society in London?

A. I do not recollect any such persons being constituted a member of the Constitutional Society in London; I do not recollect, I have no knowledge of any such matter.

Q. Do

Q. Do I understand you right, that you do recollect such a proposition moving from your society to the London Society?

A. Letters were wrote from one society to the other.

Q. Proposing such a measure?

A. I understood that they acted in conjunction; I always understood it as such.

Q. Did I understand you right, that one of the modes by which that acting in conjunction was to be brought about, was, that a certain number of you society should be associated with the London Constitutional Society, for the purposes of general conjunctive acting?

A. I do not know that any such subject was ever settled; I know no farther of the junction of the society but what passed by letter.

Q. Did you at any time act as a secretary to the society at Sheffield?

A. Yes, about five months.

Q. Was that the five months last before you were apprehended?

A. Yes.

Q. When was you apprehended?

A. I think in May last.

Q. Be so good as tell us for what purpose your Constitutional Society were assembled, and what the professed object of their assembling was?

A. The object was a Parliamentary Reform.

Q. By what means was that Reform to be effected?

A. By meeting and endeavouring to enlighten each other, and spread the knowledge both of the grievances which we considered, to exist, or which were frequently wrote of and spoken of, and informing the people of the necessity of a Reform, that they might unitedly move for it in the best and most unexceptionable mode.

Q. Was there any peculiar mode by which the election of members to the House of Commons was to be effected, according to your proposition as to the right of voting?

A. That subject was never discussed to my knowledge.

Q. Are you acquainted with the expression—*universal suffrage*?

A. I expect I am.

Q. Was

Q. Was it or not the scheme of the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, that a reform was to be produced by universal suffrage?

A. It never was, as far as my recollection of it; it never was until the Edinburgh Convention, I never heard of universal suffrage until that time.

Q. Was the circumstance of the Edinburgh Convention known to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield?

A. They sent a delegate, and therefore certainly they must know it.

Q. Who was their delegate at the Convention at Edinburgh?

A. Matthew Campbell Brown; but I was not secretary at that time; they called upon me to take upon me the secretaryship just after he was gone to Edinburgh.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Henry Yorke?

A. I know a person who goes by that name.

Q. Perhaps you know him by another name?

A. I have heard another name?

Q. What is it?

A. Henry Redhead.

Q. And who likewise goes by the name of Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Yorke or Redhead ever reside at Sheffield?

A. Several times he has been at Sheffield.

Q. Did he reside there for any time?

A. This last time I do not exactly know how long; may be six weeks, or seven or eight weeks.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Gale, a printer at Sheffield?

A. Very well.

Q. Mr. Yorke was not a settled inhabitant of Sheffield, was he?

A. No.

Q. Did he attend the Meetings of the Constitutional Society at Sheffield?

A. He attended almost every weekly Meeting during his last visit to Sheffield.

Q. As he was not a settled inhabitant of Sheffield, in what character

character did Mr. Yorke, during his last visit, attend regularly the weekly Meetings of the society?

A. They considering him as a man of considerable abilities, and as an orator, paid great respect to him, and he used to attend constantly once a week at the Meeting which was called the committee; but it was not properly a committee, for the time of the expiration of the committee which was before, was elapsed, and another was not chose, and such persons who had been on the committee were admitted principally on account of Mr. Yorke being at Sheffield?

Q. You have given me a good reason why he should be treated with respect when he was there; that he was a man of talents and an orator; but I ask in what character he came there?

A. I am totally unacquainted with that, for he did not bring any letter to us; I have heard say——

Q. Did you ever hear him himself say?

A. No; I never had any conversation with him upon it.

Q. You never heard from himself then in what character he came there?

A. No.

Q. But being there, you discovered he had great talents, and was an orator?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he take any part in the management of the business of the society?

A. He wrote several pamphlets while at Sheffield, and at several times brought some part, if not the whole of these pamphlets, in manuscript, to these meetings to be read.

Q. Do you speak now of the weekly Meetings, which were improperly called committees?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were these Meetings held?

A. At my house?

Q. You had a commodious room there probably?

A. It was a small room where these Meetings met, but there was a large room when a great number met.

Q. The

Q. The Meeting was improperly called a committee, when they met in a small room?

A. Yes.

Q. How often was the other room used?

A. Some two, three, or four times; I do not recollect how many during his last visit.

Q. Was there in that room any preparation for the more commodious exercise of the talents of oratory of Mr. Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. What?

A. A little matter erected to elevate the speaker.

Q. What was that called, that we may have a name to put down in our notes?

A. Some called it one thing, some called it another.

Q. What did you call it, for instance?

A. I never called it any thing.

Q. What was the more general name for it in the society?

A. Some called it the pulpit, some the tribune, but it never was christened?

Q. But it was a commodious elevation for the orator, and some called it a pulpit, others a tribune?

A. Yes.

Q. And from this tribune Mr. Yorke addressed the society?

A. He did.

Q. Besides those Meetings improperly called committees, and those Meetings in which the tribune was, do you remember any Meeting upon the Castle-hill?

A. Very well.

Q. Was that of the date of the 7th of April?

A. I do not justly recollect the day, but I was there.

Q. Was Mr. Yorke there?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he there exercise himself in addressing the people?

A. Yes.

Q. In what sort of manner and language?

A. He had a book in his hand wrote by Locke, and he expatiated very largely on the corruption that had crept into the

the English constitution, or rather the evils which generally are complained of, and shewed there was a deviation, in some degree, from the original constitution of Great-Britain; but his manner of speaking may sometimes lead him to go farther than he ought.

Q. Did that unfortunate fatality upon this occasion occur, that he did go farther than in your judgment he ought?

A. It was agreed upon that I should make a motion.

Q. First answer my question; did it appear to you that his address that had Locke's book for its text, was more violent, and went farther than it ought?

A. He is peculiarly energetic, and at the same time very fiery, very warm, very strong; but at this Meeting I do not know that he said any thing that was detrimental to the constitutional law of England—not at this Meeting.

Q. It was settled, you said, that you were to do something—settled by whom?

A. By Mr. Yorke and Mr. Gale, at a Meeting previous.

Q. At one of the committees?

A. Yes; that I should make a motion for a Petition to the House of Commons, for a Reform in the Representation of the People.

Q. For what purpose was you to make that motion as it was settled?

A. That it might be over-ruled.

Q. Was it settled at the committee before-hand then, that a motion should be made that it might be over-ruled?

A. Yes, it was so agreed upon, and further for the purpose of introducing another motion in its place.

Q. Did you make the motion as it had been agreed?

A. I did, for petitioning the House of Commons.

Q. What was done upon your making that motion?

A. It was objected to with a view of making way for another, which was brought in and carried.

Q. Who was it objected to by; who was the objector?

A. There were only four of us, the other member I do not at present recollect: it was either Henry Yorke, Joseph Gale, or William Camage.

Q. You

Q. You mean there were only four of the committee that attended—

A. In the elevation there.

Q. There was an elevation then upon the Castle-hill?

A. Yes, one of those things we called the tribune was carried upon the Castle-hill.

Q. Then one of these persons opposed your motion?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of persons might there be assembled at this Meeting?

A. Several thousands?

Q. A Meeting in the open air?

A. Yes.

Q. And then one of these persons opposed your motion, as it had been agreed, for the introduction of another?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the substance of that other motion?

A. Instead of petitioning the House of Commons to petition his Majesty, and a Petition was drawn up; the parchments lay at my house.

Q. Drawn up by whom?

A. By Henry Yorke or Redhead.

Q. Was it before or after the Meeting in the open air, that it was drawn up?

A. Perhaps it might be drawn up before, and read there; I think it was, but it was not signed till after.

Q. Then it was left at your house for signatures?

A. It was.

Q. Upon the occasion of the introducing this amendment upon your proposition, did Mr. Yorke address the Meeting, composed, as you say, of some thousands.

A. Yes, he addressed them; he introduced that subject of petitioning the King to exercise his power, for a Reform in the Representation of the People, and this Petition was sent up to London to Earl Stanhope, but he did not think proper to present it in that form.

Q. Do you remember a day or two after the Meeting upon the Castle-hill,

Castle-hill, being in company with Gale and Yorke at your house, when any application was made to Yorke upon the subject of the speech he had delivered to the people upon the Castle-hill; do you remember any application to him a day or two afterwards, upon the subject of printing his speech?

A. I remember something being said to him upon it at my house.

Q. Did he agree to print his speech?

A. To the best of my recollection, he did.

Q. Was it printed?

A. It was.

Q. Did you see it afterwards in print?

A. Yes.

Q. From having heard it upon the Castle-hill, could you form an opinion, whether the printed copy which you saw afterwards, was a pretty accurate statement of what passed?

A. The substance of the matter he delivered there, I believe it contains.

Q. Was that published at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe this to be one of those publications (*shewing it to the witness*)?

A. I do.

Q. Did you receive afterwards from Yorke, any number of these pamphlets for any purpose?

A. I did not receive them from Yorke, but I received them at Gale's shop.

Q. Did you do any thing with them by the direction of Yorke?

A. It was by the direction of the Meeting, previous to their being communicated to different persons.

Q. Do you mean the General Meeting, or the Private Meeting?

A. The Private Meeting directed they should be communicated to different persons.

Q. Did you, in consequence, make up any packets of them, and do you believe these to be two of the packets (*shewing them to the witness*)?

A. They

A. They are; they are directed to me according to order.

Q. How many might you direct in that manner, in separate packages?

A. I do not recollect exactly, there might be twenty-four, or more.

Q. What was done with these, after you had made them up separately, and addressed them to the different persons?

A. They were lapped up and directed to certain persons, and then all put together in a box.

Q. To whom were they sent?

A. To the best of my recollection they were sent to Thomas Hardy.

Q. What was your situation in life before you was applied to to become the Secretary of this society?

A. I was a cutler.

Q. Was you working at your business?

A. Yes, when I had any business to work at.

Q. Was you applied to to become the Secretary, or did you apply for it?

A. I was applied to.

Q. By whom?

A. By one of the members, John Alcock.

Q. Was you paid any thing for your trouble?

A. Yes.

Q. What was your inducement to take that office upon you?

A. I should not have taken it upon me, if I had not been applied to.

Q. What induced you to do it?

A. The war destroyed my business?

Q. Am I to understand that you did it to increase your means of support?

A. I did.

Q. Did it come to your knowledge, in your character as a member of the society, or otherwise, that there were any preparations of arms of any sort at Sheffield?

A. I heard reports as other people might do, but purposely avoided meddling, in thought or act, with any matter of that sort.

Q. Did you in the society, or from the members of the society,

hear of any proposition for providing arms, or that any were in preparation?

A. I did, and it is proper that this should be well explained.

Q. Explain that?

A. A few days before this Meeting, when it was spoken to as being the right of Englishmen to have in their power means of defence, a hand-bill, a spurious hand-bill was published in Sheffield, with an intention to provoke the society to some unjustifiable measures, and it was spoke to in the Meeting, that it was their right to have them in their own defence, and Joseph Gale spoke to it; he was the man. This wicked hand-bill was not signed by any magistrate; it was throwed about the town in the dark, it caused an agitation in the minds of the people, and it was spoke of as being the right of every individual there, to have such and such arms according to their rights, lest any tumult or riot should break out. I am happy to speak of this, and I should be happy to see that advertisement, with what was said at this Meeting, which was published in the Sheffield paper the week after.

Q. Was this hand-bill distributed previous to the Meeting upon the Castle-hill?

A. To the best of my recollection it was after that Meeting.

Q. Was the subject of procuring arms publicly discussed or in the private Meetings of the society?

A. It was at a public Meeting Mr. Gale spoke of our rights.

Q. A Meeting in your large room?

A. Yes.

Q. A public Meeting of the society?

A. Yes.

Q. By the society only?

A. There were many others that were not members there, as well as others.

Q. How did they come; were they introduced by members?

A. The tickets were not regularly delivered, I believe, at that time.

Q. Then members introduced visitors?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see any arms, or any model of any?

A. I never

A. I never saw a pike till I saw one when I was brought to London.

Q. What sort of arms were they that were talked of, as fit to be had for the purposes stated?

A. Pikes were talked of, but I never saw one till I was brought to London.

Q. I do not know whether you heard any thing of the night-cats?

A. I saw a model of one, but it was only like the play thing of a child.

Q. Now we will have an account of the manner in which children play at Sheffield, what sort of an instrument was it?

A. A little instrument standing up with a point about one inch high:

One of the Jury. It was in a ball was it not?

A. No.

Mr. Garrow. It had four cross points?

Juryman. Were there only four of these?

A. I think there were four.

Mr. Garrow. So that if you threw it down it always presented a point.

A. That did.

Q. How long is that point?

A. This was about three quarters of an inch.

Q. Only made just to show what the sort of thing was?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any other purpose for which these instruments were spoken of in the society to be made, except playing with them as children?

A. Never any mention made of them in the society at all.

Q. Where did you see the model?

A. At the house of one Benjamin Dunn.

Q. Was he a member of the society?

A. Yes, but it was not he that produced it.

Q. Who produced it at his house?

A. I think they call him Charles Rhodes.

Q. Had you ever seen such a thing before?

A. I never did.

Q. You naturally were led to ask its use and the purpose for which it was to be constructed. What was stated to be the purpose of this play thing?

A. I do not recollect any conversation upon that head, but it was taken and thrown upon the floor.

Q. Was that act of throwing it on the floor, and of course its presenting one of its points accompanied by no description of the use it might be applied to, besides playing with it?

A. What might be said that night might not be serious.

Q. When talking of a play thing one is not serious; now, serious or not, what was said of it?

A. Nothing was said, but he brought it to show them.

Q. What was said, serious or not serious, as to the use to which that might or could or was intended to be applied?

A. I cannot call to mind any thing that was said, but this only, that he came to show them that such a little boy, whose name he mentioned, had made it and showed it them.

Q. Was it called by any name?

A. I heard no name of it till I came to London, there it was called a Cat.

Q. A night Cat, or day Cat, or any thing of that kind?

A. I heard no name whatever.

Q. Was there any conversation at that time when it was thrown upon the floor about Cavalry?

A. I do not recollect any conversation at all, but merely the throwing it upon the floor.

Q. You said just now that the conversation such as it was, might not be serious?

A. No, laughing at it.

Q. Upon your oath was there any conversation serious or not with respect to Cavalry or the town of Newcastle?

A. Newcastle was not mentioned there, it was not at the same place I apprehend.

Q. Where was it that there was conversation about the town of Newcastle?

A. I know nothing about any conversation about Newcastle.

Q. Upon

Q. Upon your oath was you never present when that model was produced, and when there was a conversation about Newcastle?

A. Upon my oath I never was.

Q. Then you never heard any conversation at Sheffield about this night Cat or this model of a night Cat with respect to Cavalry?

A. I do not recollect any conversation about its use but a mere trifling desultory pleasing irregular conversation with one another.

Q. Now that trifling pleasing desultory irregular conversation I want to have?

A. I am sure I cannot recollect it, if I could recollect it I would.

Q. Try, do not hurry yourself?

A. I cannot recollect any thing that was said, only his taking it out of his pocket, showing it us, and throwing it on the floor; there was no regular conversation, no debate whatever about it.

Q. And the nature of the desultory observations that were made you do not recollect?

A. He showed it to the company as being the production of a boy, a child, I remember that perfectly well.

Q. It was a thing that you had never seen any thing like before?

A. I believe I never had.

Q. You contented yourself with seeing it thrown down, and looking at one of its points?

A. I had nothing to do with it whatever.

Q. You told me that at the meetings at the Castle-Hill, Mr. Yorke, though in general warm and energetic, and disposed to say strong things, did not say any thing that was detrimental to the Constitutional Law of England, was you present at any other meeting where his speeches were not quite of that character?

A. I have been present at other meetings when he has not been so well guarded as he was at that meeting.

Q. Perhaps those might be meetings of the society only?

A. So called, of the society only.

Q. But with visitors admitted, be so good as tell us the tendency

of his discourses when he rather gave himself liberty, when he followed the impulse of his nature?

A. If I had noted them down I might have been able to have repeated them.

Q. I do not expect you should give us them in his manner or precise words, but give us the substance and effect of those expressions which appeared to you to be unguarded?

A. I do not justly recollect at present.

Q. Endeavour to recollect?

A. I may have heard him when conversing in those meetings, sometimes he was very warm to be sure, and might drop unguarded expressions.

Q. Such as what unguarded expressions?

A. Comparing what he looked upon to be the grievances under which we laboured, with the privileges which Englishmen once enjoyed, he might step out of the way.

Q. What expressions did he use which appeared to you to be unguarded?

A. I heard him use one expression, but for my own part I will not presume to put a comment upon it, he expressed himself to this purport, that we were in a low despicable situation, and rather than submit he would go up to London with the people there present.

Q. Who were *we*?

A. We Englishmen were in such a condition, that rather than submit to it he would go up to London with the people there present, but he did not say for what.

Q. How many were the People present with whom Mr. Yorke was to come up rather than to submit to the degraded state in which the People of England were?

A. There might be perhaps 150 or perhaps 200.

Q. Was this at one of the meetings of the society?

A. With some others.

Q. One of the general meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Composed of members of the society and of others?

A. Yes.

One of the Jury. He would go up with them to London, and what then?

A. He did not draw any inference.

Mr. Garrow. Was that after you had heard any thing upon the subject of arming?

A. I think it was before, to the best of my memory it was before that, but I am not perfectly clear in that.

Q. Was that delivered from the Tribune?

A. Delivered from the place which was sometimes called so, and sometimes called a pulpit.

Q. It was from the orator's elevation that this speech was delivered?

A. Yes.

Q. Perhaps having brought that to your memory, may enable you to recollect some other accompanying expressions?

A. I do not recollect any other that gave me any pain at the time, what was the cause of my remembering that, was the pain I felt at the time.

Q. What was it that occasioned any sensation of pain in you at that declaration of Mr. Yorke?

A. Why, I fear God and honour the king.

Q. And therefore you felt pain at that declaration of Mr. Yorke's?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, either at that or any other of these meetings, do you recollect any of these expressions of Mr. Yorke?

A. I do not recollect any expressions that so struck me as that.

Q. I do not know whether you have seen this paper before, (*showing the witness a printed paper*?)

A. I never saw this, but I saw one from which this was taken.

Q. Have you seen a pamphlet of which you believe that to be one copy?

A. Yes.

Q. Look at this, (*showing the witness another printed pamphlet, the Fast-day, as observed at Sheffield*) have you seen that before?

A. I have.

Q. Do you remember the circumstance of a proclamation for a general fast to be held the 28th February 1794?

A. Yes.
 Q. In what manner was that fast observed upon the **Castle Hill** at Sheffield?

A. It was not at the **Castle Hill**.

Q. Where was it?

A. At the **Top of the Town** in another place.

Q. In the open air?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you there?

A. I was.

Q. What number of persons do you think might be assembled for the purpose of observing that fast?

A. Not so many.—

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. How is that evidence?

Mr. Attorney General. Your Lordship will recollect that we read a resolution from the books of the Constitutional Society, thanking the People of Sheffield for the manner in which they had spent the fast day.

Mr. Garrow. With this addition, that the printed paper in my hand was found in the prisoner's possession.

Broomhead. I cannot ascertain the number, but there were not so many as upon the **Castle Hill**.

Q. About how many do you think might be assembled?

A. I cannot tell properly, there might be a thousand or two.

Q. Tell us the manner in which you, together with that assembly of a thousand or two, celebrated that fast; is the manner in which it is represented in this printed paper that I showed to you correct?

A. To the best of my knowledge it is.

Q. What might the number of your Society properly so called amount to?

A. Nearly 600, more or less.

Q. Are you divided into divisions?

A. Such a mode has been advised, but was not regularly kept.

Q. By whom had that mode been advised?

A. I do not recollect because that was advised I believe before I was a member.

Q. Do

Q. Do you think that 600 was the full amount of the members of your Society at its greatest extent; do you believe it ever amounted to 2000?

A. No such thing, because I wrote the tickets down.

Q. The distribution into divisions or sections was not regularly executed?

A. No.

Q. What was done towards that?

A. There were a kind of books delivered, called district books; they were not regularly attended to, that is all I can say about it.

Q. What was the object of the distribution of these district books, where did they issue from?

A. They were printed by Joseph Gale.

Q. By whose directions?

A. They were printed before I joined them.

Q. Were the Society's books printed by Gale, one of your members, a printer at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. To what persons were they distributed, and for what purpose?

A. The members of the society, divided into as we may term them sections, they were called districts.

Q. What was to be the mode in which these districts of the society, were to assemble themselves?

A. They were to meet, if they thought proper, to collect pennies a week principally, a penny a week from each member.

Q. Were there any regular periods at which the several sections or divisions were to communicate in one general Assembly, or was that left to an emergency?

A. Such a thing was mentioned, but it never was executed.

Q. What was mentioned, but not executed?

A. About these persons meeting to whom the book was delivered, but it was never put in practice.

Q. So that the district meetings were not so regularly attended to, if I understand you, as the general meetings of the society?

A. No, not properly attended to.

Mr. Edward Lauzum, called.

Q. Look at these Pamphlets (the Fast-day as observed at Sheffield, and a serious lecture) where did you find them?

A. I found both these in Mr. Hardy's House.

Mr. Garrow to William Broomhead.

Q. After the serious lecture was read, there was an hymn prepared I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. Who prepared that Hymn?

A. Gale printed it.

Q. Who composed it?

A. I believe it was composed by one Montgomery.

Q. That was sung in full chorus by the whole assembly?

A. Yes it was sung.

Q. By whose order were these two pamphlets printed and published?

A. I believe they were printed by Joseph Gale.

Q. By whose order, and at whose expence?

A. They were sold.

Q. But there is an expence incurred, in printing and publishing before the sale reimburses?

A. Joseph Gale did not receive any money before the sale.

Q. Who ordered it to be printed?

A. I believe it was a private matter.

Q. Who furnished the copy to Gale?

A. I do not know for certain.

Q. Who read the lecture?

A. A gentleman from Hallifax.

Q. Do you know of any proceedings of the society, of the committee, or of Yorke, respecting printing and publishing these two pamphlets?

A. I do not recollect any at present.

Q. Were they in general distributed through the town of Sheffield?

A. They were sold.

Q. Do you know of your own knowledge whether the sale was extensive or not?

A. I

A. I think not very extensive.

Q. There is a prayer, who composed that do you know?

A. Myself.

Q. Who was that delivered by?

A. By myself.

Q. From notes, or extempore?

A. It was extempore.

Q. You had written it, and committed it to memory, perhaps?

A. Yes.

Q. What became of your copy?

A. Indeed, I do not know; I took no account of it; it was delivered to be printed.

Q. By whose directions?

A. I do not recollect; it was at a private meeting that that was spoken of.

Q. A private meeting of what?

A. Several members of the society.

Q. Tell me, if you know their names, John Paine, of New-hill?

A. I have heard the name, but I do not know the person.

Q. Was he a member of the society?

A. I believe he might be.

Mr. Garrow. It is in evidence, that he was one of those sent up by their Secretary to the London Society,

Q. You know Joseph Gale?

A. Yes.

Q. He was a member?

A. Yes.

Q. And Joseph Smith?

A. Yes.

Q. And David Martin?

A. Yes.

Mr. Garrow. It is not worth while going through the names; they were sent up to the Constitutional Society, to be affiliated with them, which is proof that they were members.

Extracts read from a printed pamphlet, entitled, "Proceedings of the Public Meeting, held at Sheffield, in the open Air, on the 7th of April, 1794;" and also an "Address to the British Nation, being an Exposition of the Motives which have determined the People of Sheffield to petition the House of Commons no more, on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform. Printed for the Sheffield Constitutional Society."

"Proceedings of the Public Meeting."

"In pursuance of a public advertisement, a General Meeting of the Friends of Justice, Liberty, and Humanity, was held, at three o'clock on Monday, the 7th of April, 1794, on the Castle-hill, in Sheffield, to consider upon the propriety of addressing the King, in behalf of the persecuted Patriots, Citizens Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, and Gerrald; also of again petitioning the House of Commons for a Reform in the Representation of the People, and to determine upon the propriety of petitioning the King, for the total and unqualified Abolition of Negro Slavery."

"Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, (very severe rains having fallen until within a quarter of an hour of the appointed time of meeting,) from ten to twelve thousand people were assembled on the occasion:

"HENRY YORKE having been voted to the Chair,
"The business was opened by reading the following Address to the King, in behalf of the suffering Patriots:

"TO THE KING."

"An Address from the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Sheffield, in the County of York."

"SIRE,

"We, the undersigned, being warm Friends of Liberty and the Rights of Man, feel ourselves deeply affected by the sentences which have lately been passed in your Majesty's Courts of Scotland, upon Citizens Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, and Gerrald.

"Had

" Had these men been really guilty of *crimes*, their punishment should doubtless have been proportionate to their offences; but, so far from considering it as a crime for a man to use every constitutional means in his power to effect a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, we think that every man who thus exerts himself, deserves well of his Country; since we are persuaded that nothing short of the Accomplishment of such a Reform, will restore Peace and Happiness to our present aggrieved and injured Nation.

" We trusted also, that your Majesty entertained the same opinion with us of such exalted conduct, from your Majesty's having chosen for your most confidential servants in the State, men who had singularly distinguished themselves by their patriotic exertions in the cause of Parliamentary Reform:

" But the Friends of these Sufferers having brought their case before Parliament, without producing the desired effect—the principal of these very servants of your Majesty having opposed the measure with all his corrupt, but irresistible Influence—seeing no other resource, we approach your Majesty in this Address, to intreat your Majesty to interfere in behalf of these (whom we deem) *innocent* men, with that Power which the British Constitution has placed in your Majesty, of pardoning whom your Majesty pleases—a privilege which is sometimes graciously extended even to real and palpable criminals.

" Let it not be recorded in the history of this country, that King George III. or any of his Judges, transported men for Fourteen Years, because they had dared to speak the same words upon a speculative subject, which, if they were not the immediate means of advancing his Majesty's then Prime Minister to his high situation, caused his Election to be remarkably popular: Let it not be said, that men of education, of refined sentiments, of the most virtuous and benevolent characters, were severed from their dearest connections, and plunged into dungeons with thieves and prostitutes: Let it not be said, that fathers were torn from their wives and children, and sons from their aged parents, because they had the virtue openly to condemn the acknowledged corruptions of Government, and to

" exert

" exert every peaceable means in their power to remove them:
 " Let it not be said, that it was as great a crime to speak the
 " TRUTH, as to be guilty of FELONY.

" But rather, O King, let it be recorded, that George III.
 " had the Wisdom, the Humanity, and the Justice, to step in be-
 " twixt these severe and cruel Sentences and their Execution.

" These are our Desires—these our plain Sentiments. We
 " know they are such as your Majesty is unaccustomed to hear;
 " but, if they are supported by Truth and Reason, suffer not
 " the homeliness of our manner to offend your Majesty. We
 " are plain men, and will not flatter a King. If our wishes be
 " attended to, we are persuaded it will, in some good degree,
 " hush the murmurs which unreasonable severity in a Government
 " never fails to excite; and it may also avert that *Storm*, which
 " it is but too evident has long been awfully gathering, and
 " which may burst forth in a moment when your Majesty
 " thinks not.

" The Address being read, and received with repeated ap-
 " plauses, HENRY YORKE addressed the Meeting in support
 " of the measure. He observed, that the cause for which our
 " Countrymen were now suffering, was the same as had been
 " advocated in the year 1783, by Mr. Pitt, the Duke of
 " Richmond, and other men, who were at this time Pensioners
 " and Placemen under the actual Government; that a Con-
 " vention, for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform,
 " had been held at the Thatched House Tavern, in which these
 " men went as Delegates, or acted as assistants; that it was
 " cruel, if not unjust, to punish men for following the example
 " which those in power had set them. The question was not a
 " question of *convenience*, but of *right*.—It was not enough to
 " say, that the People were *formerly* represented, but that they
 " had a *right* to be represented *now*. Did the Ministry, there-
 " fore, mean to assert, that what was right to-day, was wrong to-
 " morrow? Did they mean to declare, in the face of the world,
 " that what was in conformity to the maxims of Justice at that
 " time, should, in so short a space, be deemed *unjust*, and punished
 " as a *crime*?

" After

" After having expatiated considerably on this very important
 " subject, he proceeded with observing, that in all countries
 " where severe and sanguinary punishments were encouraged,
 " men could have no affection for the Government under which
 " they lived, and their obedience to it could result solely from
 " motives of *fear*. That liberty of opinion could not be denied
 " to any free country, without denying at the same time the
 " Rights of the People. That nothing argued more strongly
 " against a Government than the uniform design of depriving
 " the People of this liberty; that it was a proof that something
 " *went wrong*; and that even Governors were ashamed of their
 " conduct, when the right of discussion was violated, or put an
 " end to. The civil Liberty we enjoyed in our country was the
 " effect of political discussion; and its political Liberty would
 " have long since been restored and secured, if our Rulers had
 " not interposed to weaken or annihilate this right: First, by
 " giving a power of decision to Judges, which the antient law
 " of the land did not acknowledge: Secondly, by confounding
 " the truth with the fact of publication: And, thirdly, by having
 " punished with the utmost severity libels in private cases, to
 " prepare the public mind for those severe sentences in public
 " ones, which dishonoured and irritated the Nation. It had
 " been lately the fashion to confound Government with the
 " Constitution, and the Ministry with the Government. To
 " oppose, therefore, the mad and wild, if not criminal schemes of
 " Administration, was to oppose Government, and, by this mode
 " of reasoning, to oppose Government was to be an enemy to the
 " Constitution. A Government can never give a more authentic
 " proof of its propension to Tyranny, and of the impropriety,
 " as well as impolicy of its measures, than by restraining or
 " forbidding the liberty of discussing publicly matters of legis-
 " lation and policy. It is debasing the character of man, as an
 " intellectual being, to deny him the right of enquiring into
 " that which even Governors allow was made for his use, namely
 " Government.

" To punish inquiry, severity is exercised for imaginary guilt.
 " But what is the effect? Mischief is prolific: Violence in
 " government

" government begets resentment in the people, who murmur and
 " exclaim: Government is provoked, and studies vengeance.
 " When one act of vengeance is exposed, more always follow.
 " Affection is lost on both sides, and, what is worse, is irre-
 " coverable. Hatred begins; and the government and the
 " people being at variance, consider each other no longer as
 " magistrate and subject, but as mutual enemies. Hence the
 " inhuman wish of Caligula, that he could murder all the people
 " at one blow. The sequel is in order: He is continually
 " destroying them; they are continually wishing him destroyed.
 " Such conduct had the fatal tendency of cramping the genius
 " of men, and of replunging the nation into a state of barbarism
 " with regard to their Religion, their Laws, their Morals, and
 " their Government, and to keep them ignorant of the most
 " important concerns in their trade, their splendor, their felicity;
 " whilst all the nations around them were improving themselves
 " in morals and policy, by the daring efforts and concurrence
 " of enlightened men, whose views were directed to those objects
 " alone which were really worth their attention. The reasoning
 " of a government, which prohibits information, is defective in
 " every particular; its progress is not to be stopped, nor even
 " to be checked, without manifest disadvantage. Prohibition
 " has no other effect than to irritate men; to inspire them with
 " an idea of insurrection, and to give to all their writings a
 " libellous tendency. Severe and arbitrary sentences may *intimidate*, but they cannot *convince* a nation. It is by reason
 " and argument alone, opposed to apparent reason and apparent
 " argument, that a government can hope to be victorious over
 " its internal enemies, or render itself permanent by the quiet
 " and conscientious concurrence of all its Citizens. It is doing
 " too much honor to innocent subjects to be alarmed at a few
 " pages of writing, or at a few fugitive orations, when barracks
 " are erected in a country, and 60,000 armed mercenaries are
 " ready to execute the mandates of government. Experience
 " had proved, that the rigorous prosecutions which had lately
 " taken place throughout England, and that the cruel sentences
 " which had disgraced the capital of Scotland, had not answered
 " the

" the purpose of establishing arbitrary power, and of crushing
 " the rebellion of honest minds. Although there is no spirit so
 " erect and independent as not to be broken by the long con-
 " tinuance of the silent and inglorious sufferings of a jail; yet
 " it had been found, that men were proud to step forward in this
 " most stormy season, when such terrible examples of legal
 " vengeance had been held up before them, to plead the antient
 " rights of their country, to unmask the infamy, intrigue, and
 " murderous projects of administration, and, according to the
 " principles of the purest benevolence, to assert the liberty of
 " the whole human race. The present times bore a strong
 " and marked resemblance to those terrific ages when priests
 " held their dominion over the minds and consciences of men,
 " and when they endeavoured to establish the reign of intolerance
 " and orthodoxy amidst flakes of fire, and streams of human
 " blood. All history had evinced, that every attempt to curb
 " and bridle the expansion of the human mind had been in-
 " effectual; it had evinced, that opinions, though smothered for
 " a time, burst forth with redoubled fury, and were victorious
 " over power; it had evinced the triumph of Reason and Truth
 " over Prejudice and Superstition, and that Liberty, whether of
 " opinion or person, however slow in its progress, had uniformly
 " moved forward towards its destined goal; and that even, at
 " this moment, the interruptions which had been opposed to it in
 " our own country, although they might be injurious to indi-
 " viduals, would finally obtain, confirm, and establish the rights
 " of the people. Conscious of their uprightness, the Friends of
 " Freedom had persevered in their noble cause, unappalled by the
 " influence of spies and informers, and by the threats of a corrupt,
 " a crazy, and wicked administration. In so doing, they had
 " acted in perfect conformity to the principles of virtue, without
 " which no man could be a friend to his country, and a lover of
 " mankind. Its essence consisted in the regulation of our conduct
 " by such moral axioms as are best calculated to promote the
 " general happiness of our fellow-creatures; and as it frequently
 " happened, that the happiness of the individual stood in direct
 " opposition to that of the public, it is the perfection of virtue in

" individuals to sacrifice their own happiness to that of the public.
 " A man, in possession of this virtuous principle, feels delight
 " whilst actually burning in the brazen bull of Phalaris; and
 " such, he trusted, was the actuating principle of those generous
 " patriots, who are become willing victims of the most barbarous
 " and savage sentences that ever had been pronounced in Britain;
 " who had made a glorious stand against arbitrary power, and
 " who broke loose from the fondest endearments of human life,
 " in the hope of redeeming their lost Country from the fangs of
 " a dark and brooding prejudice, and from the horrors and tur-
 " pitude of an ignominious slavery.

" It was the tyranny of the British government which drove
 " William Penn, with the philosophic people called Quakers, to
 " the delectable regions of Pennsylvania, where, by toleration,
 " industry, and permanent credit, they revived the simplicity of
 " the primitive ages of society. It was the same tyranny which
 " has driven into voluntary exile, or forced by law into banish-
 " ment, the most virtuous of men, the first of philosophers, the
 " most exalted and courageous band of Patriots that ever honoured
 " the soil of Britain. Among the former Joseph Priestly, one of
 " the most profound philosophers of the age, and most meek and
 " amiable of citizens, claims the sad pre-eminence; and among
 " the latter, stand the names of those persecuted Patriots, in
 " whose behalf we are now about to address the executive
 " magistrate of our country—a noble and a generous band,
 " whose sufferings do not claim our pity, because they boil up
 " our rage; whose sentences disgraced those who pronounced
 " them, not those on whom they were pronounced; whose
 " condition is enviable, because honourable, and to the whole of
 " whose opinions and conduct, no good man, or honest citizen,
 " can give one dissentient voice! In times like these, when a
 " man is mocked and insulted, because he bears the name of a
 " Patriot, an epithet once honoured by the people of England;
 " at a time when those who have the courage and magnanimity
 " not to flatter their country, are deserted, betrayed, and per-
 " secuted, what honours are sufficient for those who thunder
 " truth against tyranny? What disgrace ought not to await those
 " timid

" timid beings, those *negative* patriots, who keep aloof from the
 " scene of action, and riot on their country's wrongs? When
 " our Nation shall be regenerated, these persecuted men will
 " wear civic crowns. In the political, as in the moral world,
 " the friend who appears to soothe our distresses, excites our
 " esteem; and he who, in calamitous times that try men's souls,
 " sacrifices interest, friends, and home, in order to save his
 " sinking Country, merits well, not only of every Briton, but
 " of all mankind, and even of the government under which he
 " lives.

" Fellow-Citizens, the day is at length arrived, when fana-
 " ticism and superstition, deprived of their tinsel trappings, and
 " exposed, in their native ugliness, to the view of mankind,
 " flink scowling back to the cave of obscurity; there I hope they
 " will for ever remain. The energy of Englishmen will no
 " longer endure this strange uproar of injustice. I trust my
 " countrymen are sick of religious and political imposture; and
 " that their decisive and manly conduct will command, in an
 " imperious tone which will take no denial, not a melioration of
 " these enormous abuses, which would be to compromise with in-
 " justice; but I trust they will demand the annihilation of cor-
 " ruptions and abuses, and a restitution of the original rights of
 " human nature. I ask of our governors, this plain question,
 " Is it better that the people should be in a constant state of
 " stupidity, than that they should be sometimes turbulent?—
 " Ministers of State, if ye mean to be wicked, suffer the people
 " to write and speak; you will find men corrupt enough to serve
 " you according to your evil desires, and who will improve you
 " in the art of Sejanus. If you mean to be good, permit them
 " to write, you will find some honest men who will improve you
 " in the art of a Turgot. How many things are ye still ignorant
 " of, before you can become great either in good or in evil.
 " I see no glory, no advantage, no pleasure, no safety, in any man
 " reigning as a Sultan over slaves. Such a horrid pre-eminence
 " tarnishes the lustre of the most exalted station. It is, besides,
 " precarious, for Sultans are frequently deposed, and vengeance
 " wreaked upon them.

" I need not invite you, fellow citizens, to feel for any human
 " being who suffers, much less need I solicit your approval of
 " the present measure, after the general testimony of satisfaction
 " you have given of it. You are too enlightened to need the
 " aid of any instruction from me, and your understandings are
 " too much awakened to require that your passions should be
 " played upon. Whilst the unerring tribunal of posterity shall
 " condemn with scorn and derision, with execration and disgust,
 " those inhuman beings who have been the causes of such un-
 " exampled and inhuman severity, our persecuted brethren will
 " obtain a verdict of honour and glory. I may venture to say,
 " that, beloved by the present age, future ages shall heap around
 " their monuments trophies of undying fame; and an exasperated
 " and repentant people, shall enrol their names in the volume of
 " history, which records also the names of Sidney, Hampden,
 " and Locke!

" The following Resolutions were then read three times over,
 " and with the exception of one or two persons, were unanim-
 " mously adopted:

" 1. That the People, being the true and only source of
 " Government, the freedom of speaking and writing upon any
 " Subject, cannot be denied to the Members of a free Govern-
 " ment, without offering the grossest Insult to the Majesty of the
 " People.

" 2. That therefore the Condemnation of Citizens Muir,
 " Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, and Gerrald, to Transportation,
 " for exposing the Corruptions of the British Government, was
 " an Act better suited to the Maxims of a despotic than a free
 " Government.

" 3. That the Address which has now been read, be presented
 " to the King, in Behalf of the above persecuted Patriots.

" On the second Resolution being proposed, an hiss was heard
 " from different parts of the meeting, in consequence of one or
 " two persons holding up their hats against it; on observing
 " which, H. YORKE thus addressed the meeting:

" FELLOW

“ FELLOW CITIZENS,

“ As your Chairman, I call you to order. As an individual,
 “ I must observe, that this hissing is repugnant to the principle of
 “ toleration or freedom, which we wish to see established. We
 “ have this moment read, and given our assent to, an Address to
 “ the King in favour of liberty of opinion; let it not be said,
 “ that we are the first to violate that liberty in others, which we
 “ claim for ourselves. Opinions will always vary, even amongst
 “ the wisest and best of men. We are bound, therefore, to shew
 “ tenderness to the opinions of others, and compassion even to
 “ their prejudices. Let our enemies see that we consecrate by
 “ our example, what we desire to see established as a principle.
 “ Hisses do not convince; they tend only to irritate the minds,
 “ and to beget the ill-will of our fellow-citizens: let us, on the
 “ contrary, confront them with the weapons of Reason and
 “ Truth, the only logic of liberal minds. Every thing which has
 “ a tendency to stir up the passions without awakening the
 “ understanding, is unbecoming of freemen, or of men who
 “ would be free.”

“ These well-timed observations had the good effect of pre-
 “ venting any further signs of intolerance; and the utmost de-
 “ corum prevailed throughout the conduct of the business.

“ It was next moved, “ that a *Petition* be presented to the
 “ House of Commons, for a Reform in the Representation of the
 “ People in Parliament:” but so marked was the disapprobation
 “ given by the whole meeting to this measure, that not one
 “ single person *seconded* the motion; but a most profound silence,
 “ interrupted only by a few murmurs, was observed: upon
 “ which, HENRY YORKE again rose, and addressed the meeting
 “ in an animated speech of an hour long, and of which it is im-
 “ possible for us to give our readers a just conception. He took
 “ a general view of the British Constitution, and stated its most
 “ prominent defects; among which the want of a perfect National
 “ Representation was the most glaring. He dwelt a considerable
 “ time upon this subject, and then proceeded to take a rapid
 “ survey of the exertions which had been made at different
 “ periods,

“ periods, and by different persons, to promote the cause of
 “ Parliamentary Reform.

“ He observed that the subject was become a mere bugbear,
 “ employed to deceive the people, and worked upon as an
 “ engine to raise into power, needy and ambitious men ; that the
 “ very same men who in Opposition had declared that it was
 “ the only measure of saving the country from ruin, were the
 “ first to reprobate and scout the measure of reform when they
 “ were in Power. From the corruptions of the British Govern-
 “ ment, parties had been generated, which, in their route to
 “ power, had convulsed and plundered the empire. Under the
 “ distinctions of names, principles had been forgotten ; and for
 “ the sake of leaders, whom the people had foolishly idolized, the
 “ machine of Government rolled on amidst the feuds and con-
 “ tentions of party. Eternally the peace of our country had
 “ been disturbed by the rancour and animosities of factions, and
 “ the people, instead of turning themselves to correct the gross
 “ evils which existed in it, had ever been the tools of base and
 “ designing men, and seemed prepared to whet and sharpen their
 “ swords one against another.

“ It was now high time that the people should lay aside leaders,
 “ discard factions, and *act for themselves*. He strongly enforced
 “ these principles, and then entered into a complete detail of the
 “ ancient Constitution as established by Alfred, which he proved
 “ to be at this time totally defaced, if not lost. He then pursued
 “ the gradual decline of popular liberty in England, from the
 “ anarchy which was the consequence of Danish and Norman
 “ invasion ; and taking a general sketch of our history, so far
 “ as it was connected with the subject of Popular Representation,
 “ he made some strong and pointed remarks on the Revolution in
 “ 1688, the object of which, he said, was not, could not be
 “ answered, unless Annual Parliaments and General Suffrage
 “ were restored. For this he had the authority of Lord Somers,
 “ who drew up the Declaration of Rights, and who was pro-
 “ moted by William III. for his popular exertions at that
 “ memorable epoch,

“ In

" In order to prove that the Revolution had not corresponded
 " with the expectations of the people, no sooner was the Prince
 " of Orange established on the throne of England, than all ideas
 " of the ancient mode of annual Parliaments were effaced, and
 " the TRIENNIAL ACT was passed in the very face of that Re-
 " volution, and in direct contradiction to its principles; for the
 " Revolution, at least so far as it respected the people, was not
 " intended to be a compromise between the King and the
 " Aristocracy, for the joint inheritance of the people, but to
 " establish on unequivocal principles the right of the people to
 " govern themselves, and to recall those delegated powers which
 " they had entrusted to their servants for this purpose, when
 " they were either abused, or neglected to exercise them. If the
 " Revolution were not a Revolution for the people, it was no
 " Revolution at all, but a conspiracy of a few ennobled op-
 " pressors against the liberties and happiness of the many. But
 " if it were designed to comprehend the people, and its end has
 " been perverted, or purposely laid aside, the people are not
 " warranted in *petitioning*, but are justified in *demanding as*
 " *a Right*, agreeably to the tone of language used in the De-
 " claration of Rights, the restitution of annual Parliaments, and
 " the establishment of universal Suffrage. But the shock which
 " was given to the stability of these principles, was most in-
 " famously flagrant, by the enacting of the SEPTENNIAL ACT,
 " in the reign of George I. If the Act of Parliament in the
 " reign of Henry VI. erased from the roll of citizenship some
 " of the best members of the community; the enacting of the
 " Triennial and Septennial Acts, filled up to the brim the
 " measure of governmental iniquity, and poured forth the waters
 " of bitterness throughout our land.

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" Enough of precedent. The human race has long been
 " rolling down the tide of ages neglected, unpitied and oppressed.
 " It is high time that the devious course of human policy should
 " not be left to the uncertain issue of storms and of elemental
 " wars; but that the machine of state should be guided by the

“ polar star of Reason alone, which is never seen but when the
 “ Majesty of the People is resplendent. What is beneficial in
 “ the example of ages, we ought to reserve with caution. What
 “ is injurious, and what is only *tolerably* competent to answer the
 “ common purposes of society, ought to be abolished. We in-
 “ sult ourselves, when we abjectly distrust the powers which na-
 “ ture has given us; nor ought we passively to acquiesce in in-
 “ stitutions, which, though injurious, may be preferable to those
 “ that may be endured by others. We insult ourselves, when
 “ we foolishly balance between *tolerable vices* and *positive good*;
 “ between unnatural systems, and novel, untried, but just max-
 “ ims. The human mind is progressive, so is the social mind.
 “ That the one therefore should remain stationary, amid the ra-
 “ pid course of the other towards perfection, is a prejudice as un-
 “ natural as it is injurious to the happiness of man. The go-
 “ vernments of Europe present no delectable symmetry to the
 “ contemplation of the philosopher, no enjoyment to the satisfac-
 “ tion of the citizen. A vast, deformed and cheerless structure,
 “ the frightful abortion of haste and usurpation, presents to the
 “ eye of the beholder no systematic arrangement, no harmonious
 “ organization of society. Chance, haste, faction, tyranny, re-
 “ bellion, massacre, and the hot, inclement action of human
 “ passions, have begotten them. Utility never has been the end
 “ of their institution, but partial interest has been its fruit.
 “ Such abominable and absurd forms, such jarring and dissonant
 “ principles, which chance has scattered over the earth, cry aloud
 “ for something more natural, more pure, and more calculated
 “ to promote the happiness of mankind. Experience must re-
 “ gulate the mechanism of government, by which I mean not a
 “ narrow and confined, but a liberal and enlightened experience,
 “ which, hearing without passion or prejudice, the testimony of
 “ ages and nations, collects from it general principles, to further
 “ the progress of civilization. It is in history that we are to
 “ dive for those rich materials of legislative experiment, which
 “ are to ameliorate the social order, and repair those breaches
 “ which injustice has long since made. But if this experience
 “ be found inadequate to the purpose of alleviating human mis-
 “

“ ries;

" ries; if it afford nothing but the melancholy prospect of out-
 " rageous despotism; of excessive vices on the part of the go-
 " vurning, and debasement and vassalage on that of the go-
 " verned; if it ascribe the commotions of suffering countries to
 " the designs of factions, and not to principles; if it shew, that
 " in consequence of national ignorance, after the first ebullitions
 " of revolt, they have sat down in a torpid calm, and borne with
 " usurpations still heavier than those by which they were roused
 " to arms—it must be granted that this experience is important;
 " because it teaches the suffering nations of the present day, in
 " what manner to prepare their combustible ingredients, and
 " Humanists in what manner to enkindle them, so as to produce,
 " with effect, that grand political explosion, which, at the same
 " time that it buries Despotism, already convulsive and agonising,
 " in ruins, may raise up the people to the dignity and sublime
 " grandeur of Freedom.

" To effect this just and useful purpose, *revolution of sentiment*
 " must precede revolution of government and manners. The
 " popular energies must be excited, that the popular voice may
 " be felt and heard. The people must grow wise, in order that
 " the people may rule. It is said we preach anarchy; but what
 " is anarchy, but the establishment of confusion on the wreck of
 " popular opinion? It is said we are levellers; but those are le-
 " vellers who would wish to reduce man to the condition of the
 " brute, guided by passion, and uninfluenced by reason. Those
 " are levellers whose hands are dipped in the public spoils; who
 " assert impunity for crimes, and inviolability of persons; who
 " would make humanity take a retrograde motion; who would
 " palsy the arm of justice, and defeat the end of equal laws. We
 " have ever disclaimed the foolish idea of *levelling property*; be-
 " cause our own property, the fruit of our labour, or of our ta-
 " lents, might, by the example, be exposed to the invasion of the
 " first intruder. It were well, if those who confound justice with
 " crimes, would consider that the poor man's property, little as
 " it is, is as precious to him, as is the wealthy stock of the rich
 " man. It were well, if feeling the force of this principle, the
 " aristocracy would unite with us in the cause in which we are
 " embarked,

“ embarked. Property, they say, is sacred. Is not then the
 “ property of the poor man as sacred as that of the rich; and
 “ ought it to be filched or forced from him without his consent,
 “ any more than that of the rich man? Can those who do not re-
 “ spect the property of others, expect others to respect their pro-
 “ perty? We wish to exalt, not to level. We wish to better the
 “ condition of the wretched; to equalize men under the influ-
 “ ence of law; but to give to merit, industry, talents, patrimony,
 “ virtue, their proper weight and correspondent dignity in the
 “ social order. Are we then ungovernable, because we reject
 “ mis-government? Are we ungrateful, because we defend our
 “ liberty and property against those who ought to respect them?
 “ Are we rebels in maintaining our violated laws against those
 “ who are open rebels to laws, and who set themselves above
 “ those laws which they ought to have venerated? I know, that
 “ in all ages of the world, people who would not be oppressed
 “ have been reckoned ungovernable by men who are, or who
 “ would be oppressors. I know that the enemies of oppression
 “ have always been stigmatized as enemies of Government. I
 “ know that it is seditious to blame the excesses of Power, and
 “ insolent to mention the insolence of those who abuse Power. I
 “ know that it is sedition to distinguish between public right and
 “ public wrong, between Government and Tyranny. Nor is
 “ it enough to acknowledge all *good* government to be irresistible;
 “ but the *worst*, and the abuse of the *best*, must be irresistible
 “ also. I know that to complain of Tyranny is *faction*, and to
 “ throw it off *rebellion*; but they who oppress are the greatest
 “ *Rebels*, and for the oppressed to turn upon them, is but to *resist*
 “ Rebellion—it is but to do a just and natural action. Whoever
 “ violates the laws of Reason, Equity and Nature, whatever sta-
 “ tion or name he may bear, is a *Rebel*, subject to laws against
 “ Tyrants and Rebellion. Tyrants, therefore, and oppressors,
 “ are the highest and most consummate Rebels in the world—
 “ capital Traitors to God and Man, and punishable by all the
 “ laws of God and Man. Amid all the absurdities and chimeras
 “ of Paganism, it was never believed that Tyranny was warrant-
 “ ed by Heaven. It was never believed that the bloody Caligula
 “ was

" was the vicegerent of God, and that the worst of men had a
 " commission from Heaven to oppress the human race. It was
 " never believed that murder, rapine, and misrule, were Govern-
 " ment; and that lawless and bloody crowned Robbers were
 " Governors divinely appointed. It was never believed that so-
 " ciety had no remedy against devouring lust and the raging
 " sword, which were destroying all the ends of society, and even
 " society itself. Such indignities to God and Man were never
 " broached by Pagans; they never propagated doctrines which
 " would have turned men into idiots, destitute of reflection and
 " feeling; into beasts of burthen and beasts of sacrifice; turned
 " Heaven into Hell; human society into a chaos of blood and
 " carcases; and the earth into a place of torments. It never
 " entered into the heart of a Greek or a Roman, nor into any
 " heart that felt the sentiments of virtue and humanity, that
 " it was unlawful to defend Nature; a crime to ward off mur-
 " der, barbarity, and desolation; and an impiety to do the most
 " godlike action which can be done on this side Heaven, that of
 " disarming Tyrants, and of saving our country from perishing.
 " Government is doubtless a sacred thing, and justly claims our
 " reverence and duty; but when Government is general oppres-
 " sion; when havoc, spoil and persecution prevail, to the de-
 " struction of all who do well; when law and justice are banish-
 " ed, and military despotism triumphs; when property is attack-
 " ed and seized without the consent of its owner, and lives are
 " wantonly destroyed!—is this Government too? If it be, tell
 " me what is not Government? I do not think, in an age like
 " this, that the people of this, or any country, can ever be so sunk
 " or deadened by oppression, but that repeated provocation will
 " raise a spirit amongst them capable of accomplishing the great-
 " est projects. Even the most professed and degraded slaves, the
 " people of Turkey, often rouse themselves, and casting their
 " proud rider to the earth, trample him to death. A little spark
 " often kindles a great flame, and a flame soon spreads to a con-
 " flagration. An ignorant nation roused to assert its liberties,
 " will be mad and furious; for when men are used like beasts,
 " they will act like beasts! But when an enlightened people,
 " knowing

“ knowing their rights, are reduced to a state of degradation, they
 “ will know that their condition cannot be worse, but, by their
 “ own efforts, their condition must be better. An ignorant peo-
 “ ple, incited by repeated injury to shake off the load of injus-
 “ tice, will risk unseen evils and calamities—will risk even a civil
 “ war to be revenged on their oppressors. Such was the temper
 “ of the Romans upon the revolt of Sacrovir—they even exulted
 “ in it, and in hatred to Tiberius, wished success to the public
 “ enemy. Such were the injured people of Spain, who, when
 “ the Romans came, joyfully received them as their deliverers
 “ from the tyrannous yoke of Carthage. But an enlightened
 “ people will never sully the victories of patriotism by such irre-
 “ gular conduct. Revenge will never be adopted as a principle.
 “ Peace will actuate their demeanour, and they will glory in
 “ awaiting the slow process of universal information, as a prelude
 “ to universal emancipation, rather than tarnish the career of li-
 “ berty, by involving their country in scenes of terror, waste and
 “ depredation. Oppressed Nature will, at a proper season, de-
 “ part from passive principle; and should an attempt be made to
 “ wrest what remains of liberty from us, I trust all men will con-
 “ cur to vindicate their violated rights—for, if the attempt be suf-
 “ fered once, it will be often repeated. A few repetitions create
 “ a habit, and habit will claim prescription and right. For Go-
 “ vernors to be omnipotent, the race of man must be extinct;
 “ and no argument for destroying Anarchy can be used, but what
 “ is full as strong for the overthrow of Tyranny. It is difficult
 “ to restore public affairs, when once disconcerted, to their for-
 “ mer steady principle—numbers will engage in the corruption,
 “ and will try every art and power to support it, and they will
 “ continue to do so, until Nature, which is always uppermost in
 “ man, signs their tragical doom!

“ CITIZENS,

“ I repeat my former assertion. Go on as you hitherto have
 “ done, in the culture of reason. Disseminate throughout the
 “ whole of your country, that knowledge which is so necessary to
 “ man's happiness, and which you have yourselves acquired.

“ Teach

“ Teach your children and your countrymen the sacred lessons of
“ virtue, which are the foundations of all human polity. Teach
“ them to respect themselves, and to love their country. Teach
“ them to do unto all men as they would that they should do unto
“ them, and their love shall not be confined to their country, but
“ shall extend to the whole human race. When such a revolution of sentiment shall have dispersed the mists of prejudice; when
“ by the incessant thunderings from the press, the meanest cottager of our country shall be enlightened, and the sun of reason
“ shall shine in its fullest meridian over us; then the commanding voice of the whole people shall *recommend* the five hundred
“ and fifty-eight Gentlemen in St. Stephen’s Chapel, to go about
“ their business.

“ The following resolutions were next read, and unanimously
“ approved of, amidst the loudest applauses.

“ 4. That in every country where the people have no share
“ in their Government, *taxation is tyranny*.

“ 5. That therefore a Government is tyrannical or free, in
“ proportion as the people are equally, or unequally, represented.

“ 6. Convinced of this truth, it is the opinion of this Meeting,
“ that the people ought to demand as a *right*, and not petition as
“ a *favour*, for Universal Representation.

“ 7. That therefore we will petition the House of Commons
no more on this subject.”

Read from “ An Address to the British Nation,” from the first page (page 27 of the pamphlet) and from page 34 to 36.

“ An Address to the British Nation.

“ FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

“ We have heard this day decided, with the exception of only
“ one dissentient voice, that the House of Commons shall never again be *petitioned* by us, on the subject of Parliamentary
“ Reform.

“ We owe to the nation, to posterity, even to foreign countries,
“ and to the government itself under which we live, an exposition
“ of

“ of our motives. To the nation we owe this duty, because we
 “ are of opinion, that THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE
 “ PEOPLE, SHOULD BE, AT ALL TIMES, THE SUPREME LAW;
 “ and that if the *few* dissent from the opinion of the *many*, how-
 “ ever obligatory the will of the majority may be to them as a
 “ rule of action, yet opinion is always free and sacred, the right
 “ of man to enjoy, and the conscientious duty of man to diffuse.
 “ Under the full conviction of this principle, we feel ourselves,
 “ *at present*, the minority, because we are the first to agitate the
 “ question, and to repel the monstrous idea of petitioning when
 “ our petitions are not received by the House of Commons.
 “ But, we are numerous—we are many thousands; and as
 “ nothing opens the eyes of men so much as their interests, we
 “ demand, Fellow-citizens, nay, we are entitled to it from our
 “ numbers, that you lend an attentive ear to the truths we are
 “ about to utter, and to the reclamations we are about to make
 “ in favour of oppressed humanity.

“ Our petition was received with the utmost indignation by
 “ the House of Commons; which was no more than we ex-
 “ pected. We knew that the homely truths we uttered, would
 “ be very unwelcome guests in that house. We never expected
 “ that a body in which there were so many Placemen and Pen-
 “ sioners, would listen to the palpable facts stated in that
 “ petition; the object of which was to root out injustice, and
 “ to curb licentiousness and corruption. Nevertheless, as we were
 “ called upon by our countrymen to unite with them, we thought
 “ ourselves bound to comply with their wishes. And, although
 “ our petition was disdainfully rejected, because not couched in
 “ language sufficiently polite and respectful for the *five hundred*
 “ *and fifty-eight Gentlemen* who sit at the House of Commons,
 “ yet, believe us, FELLOW-CITIZENS, we are still of opinion,
 “ that the matter it contained, was not only just and proper, but
 “ we think, that even the language, which gave so much offence
 “ to the *honorable Gentlemen*, was much too polite and too mode-
 “ rate for us. For, if the House of Commons were the real
 “ Representatives of the People, we certainly had a right to *dictate*,
 “ and not to *petition*, because they could be considered in no other
 “ light

" light than as the organs of the public will. And, if they re-
 " fused to obey that will, they would be usurpers, and not repre-
 " sentatives. If, on the contrary, they are not the Represen-
 " tatives of the people, what have we to do with them? If they
 " are not our Representatives, we cannot be their Constituents;
 " and to *petition* those who are not our Representatives as our
 " Representatives, would be a manifest absurdity, if not an insult
 " and mockery of ourselves. However, the petition, such as it
 " was, being termed disrespectful, was thrown out by a majority
 " of 79, there being 29 only who voted for its being received,
 " and 108 who voted against it. Such imperious treatment
 " rather gives *warning* than strikes *terror*. The abuse of repre-
 " sentation can never come in the place of a rule, for no legal
 " power can be derived from injury or injustice. On this
 " ground alone, therefore, we are justified in preserving a sullen
 " silence in respect to the House of Commons. For, if grie-
 " vances, abuses, complaints, and truth, are to be discarded
 " from that House, because not dressed in a *gentleman-like* lan-
 " guage, how are we, plain mechanics, ever to obtain redress,
 " who are not *gentlemen*, and who are, consequently, ignorant
 " of those polite and courtly expressions which are necessary to
 " gain a hearing in that House. We are ignorant of the art of
 " displaying truth by halves, and, as we love plain dealing our-
 " selves, we detest hypocrisy in others, and pity those who would
 " wish us to follow their example. We said to the House of
 " Commons, we are wronged and aggrieved—will you right us,
 " and redress our grievances, or will you not? If you will, we
 " shall be satisfied; if you will not, we shall seek redress some
 " other way. This is the sole question with us, and we put it,
 " as we thought, in a most becoming style to the House of Com-
 " mons. But, our *petition* being scouted, we shall trouble them
 " no more with our coarse and unmannerly language. It will be
 " our duty to proceed, as we have uniformly done hitherto, in
 " enlightening the public mind; and, when a compleat revo-
 " lution of sentiment shall take place (as will shortly be the case)
 " in our country, we shall open our mouths, in that key we think
 " most agreeable to ourselves; and our voice, together with
 " that

“ that of our disfranchised countrymen, will resemble, perhaps,
 “ the thunderings from Mount Sinai !

“ Yes, Countrymen, we demand Equality of Rights, in which
 “ is included Equality of Representation, without which terror
 “ is law, and the obligations of justice are weakened ; because,
 “ unfactioned by the sacred voice of the people. We are not
 “ speaking of that visionary Equality of Property, the practical
 “ assertion of which would desolate the world, and replunge it
 “ into the darkest and wildest barbarism ; but that Equality we
 “ claim, is to make the Slave a Man, the Man a Citizen, and
 “ the Citizen an integral part of the State ; to make him a joint
 “ Sovereign, and not a subject ; to oblige Law, which ought to
 “ be an emanation from the general will, to shed its influence,
 “ without distinction, over the heads of all, and to restrain or strike
 “ the wealthy plunderer equally with the more homely offender.
 “ We wish to give rights to him who has none, and a country
 “ to him who wants one. We wish to upset the idol of injustice,
 “ which has poured forth, from its exalted throne, a deluge of
 “ sorrow, and flooded the world with the tears and the blood of
 “ its inhabitants. We desire to see Wisdom demanding of
 “ miserable millions their wants, and Humanity at hand to supply
 “ them. We desire to see the sanctuary of Virtue erected, and
 “ the standard of Liberty planted in our land, around which the
 “ people may rally as to an Holy of Holies. In short, we desire
 “ to see the altar of Equality blazing in Britain, whose streams
 “ of fire, whilst they shall shock, convulse, and tear down the
 “ rotten pillars of prejudices ; whilst they shall consume Tyrants,
 “ and terrify public delinquents, shall pierce into the hearts of
 “ the whole People, and confirm the wide empire of Morals on
 “ the wreck of Superstition and Vice. Such is our Equality,
 “ and such is the Equality which we proudly gratulate our Coun-
 “ trymen, will shortly be established in Britain, and which we
 “ invite you, PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND, to partake of.—The
 “ banks of the Forth, the fields of Bannockburn and Culloden,
 “ and that Tribunal of Edinburgh, which has disgraced your
 “ capital, shall yet bear testimony to the cause for which
 “ FLETCHER wrote, and WALLACE bled.”

Two Envelopes, in each of which was inclosed a Copy of the Proceedings of the Public Meeting, held at Sheffield, on the 7th of April, 1794, were read; one addressed "To Mr. Vaughan, Esq. Counsellor at Law," the other "To the Honourable Charles Fox."

William Broomhead, Cross-examined by Mr. Gibbs.

Q You said, about the time these pikes were talked about, there had been a mischievous hand-bill circulated, for the purpose, as you suppose, of exciting the people against the society, can you tell me what was the general substance of it?

A I had one in my hand, but cannot speak to every thing it contained.

Q But what was the general substance of it?

A It was a call to the people to arm against foreign and internal enemies, and the reply which was made to it was couched in the same language.

Q That was the first thing that was published; at what time was it published; before or after this meeting that you speak of?

A I do not recollect the exact time, but I read them both, and should have been happy if I had had them both here.

Q But you say the object of it was to provoke the people?

A It was given out, by various people in the town of Sheffield, we can never do any thing against these people, against the society, till we ourselves cause a riot.

Q These people meant the society?

A Yes; and I saw myself several persons ride up and down, round the Market-place, full gallop, to ride over people, when, at the same time, it was only boys.

Q The cry was, they could never do any thing with you; unless they caused a riot against you, they could make nothing of it?

A It has been said so, but I cannot recollect who said it; but this wicked hand-bill appearing, without the sanction of the law, or the Magistrate, I read it; and, if I had been aware of

this, I would have brought it;—this was the cause of any thing being spoken concerning arms.

Q. Among all the conversation you have ever heard upon the subject of these pikes, were they intended for the purpose of making an attack upon any power in this country, or only for defending yourselves, if you should be attacked?

A. I never understood them in any other light, and what was said about them was in answer to this wicked hand-bill. There was neither Mr. Wilkinson's name, nor Mr. Althorp's, nor any gentleman's name in the town, to it.

Q. Whether you ever collected, from those who talked of pikes, or ever produced any, that they meant to make any attack upon any of the powers in this country, or only to defend themselves, if they were illegally attacked?

A. This was the very truth; to oppose illegal force, and direct violation of the law of the land, made upon us, as was done at Manchester and at Birmingham.

Q. Then they were meant only to be used on the defensive?

A. Mr. Gale had this hand-bill in his hand, when he first mentioned the pikes at this meeting, or in his pocket; and there were several resolves printed in his paper the week following, and direct answers thereto, mentioning something upon the matter. I would have brought them both with me, if I had been apprehensive of this.

Q. Had any of the people in this society to which you belonged, any idea of making any attack upon either the King, or the House of Lords; had they any idea of altering the government in that respect?

A. I think they ought to be sent to Bedlam, if they had.

Q. Had you, as one of that society, any such intention yourself?

A. Just the same as flying to the sun.

Q. But to speak plain; by that you mean, I suppose, that you never had any such thought in your mind?

A. No; never.

Q. What

Q. What was it that you wished to produce by these meetings of yours?

A. To enlighten the people; to shew the people the reason, the ground of all their complaints and sufferings; when a man works hard for thirteen or fourteen hours of the day, the week through, and is not able to maintain his family; that is what I understood of it; to shew the people the ground of this; why they were not able.

Q. Was not the object of your meeting a Parliamentary Reform?

A. Yes, it was; and as such we corresponded with the Society of the Friends of the People, as well as the Constitutional Society.

Q. Who were the members of the Friends of the People?

A. There were several communications, I know, received from that Society.

Q. Mr. Stuart, I believe was the secretary?

A. Yes.

Q. Should you have continued a member of this Society, if you had thought that they had any intent of shaking either the King, or the Lords, or of displacing the King from his throne?

A. No.

Q. You would not?

A. No.

Q. Should you not have abhorred such an idea?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Have you any reason, from any thing that ever passed in the Society, to believe there was a single member of it who entertained such a notion?

A. No; and I do not believe there is such a wicked man amongst them.

Q. The object of your meeting, you say, was to state to the people the grounds of certain evils which you thought to exist; and wished to bring about a Parliamentary Reform—Was that a Parliamentary Reform in the House of Commons?

A. In the House of Commons.

Q. You meant that the King and the Lords should remain as they were; but that there should be a Reform in the House of Commons?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you believe, and was that the ground upon which you acted, that by producing such Reform as you wished in the House of Commons, that those evils would be remedied?

A. That the King, the Lords, and Commons, might themselves, with the concurrence of the nation, remedy these evils—As to reforming, as to the expenditure, and other matters, we had not the vanity to think of such a thing.

Q. Then do I understand you right, when I suppose this to have been your principle—that you thought the King, and the Lords, with the Houses of Commons, so reformed, would redress all your grievances?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it your object to attain this end peaceably?

A. There is no one doubts it in Sheffield, that will speak honestly.

Q. I speak of your own particular object—Your object was to attain it peaceably?

A. It was.

Q. Have you any reason to think it was the object of any other man in the Society, to use any but peaceable means to obtain it.

A. Not to my knowledge—what persons might do, had any thing happened, as a Convention being called, we cannot tell for their wickedness.

Mr. Gibbs. Repeat that answer.

A. Had there been a Convention, those societies that sent them, I suppose, would have put confidence in them, and in their consultations, supposing them to be competent to devise and direct the means to the end for a Parliamentary Reform—I understand it in that light.

Q. When that meeting was had, to be sure no man can answer for the acts of those who should compose it—certainly not; but had you any reason to suppose, that those whom you should send

to that meeting would act otherwise than peaceably, would you have sent any whom you did not think would have acted peaceably?

A. No; those would have acted peaceably that we should have sent; we should have sent none else but such.

Q. And you have no reason to think that others would have acted otherwise than peaceably?

A. No; I have no reason to think so whatever.

Q. When National Representation was talked of by Mr. Yorke at this Meeting, by National Representation, was it not meant the Representation of the People of England in the House of Commons?

A. I always understood it so for my part.

William Broomhead,

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. I could wish to ascertain whether I have taken you correctly—you meant, and as far as you understand, your Society meant to produce a Reform of the Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament by peaceable means?

A. Yes.

Q. But you apprehended, that when you should depute your delegates to a Convention, that you trusted to that Convention, and that what might then be done you could not answer for, not being able to answer for the wickedness of individuals—Did I take you correctly?

A. Yes.

Q. For the purpose of obtaining this desirable object of a Parliamentary Reform, you say you corresponded not only with the Constitutional Society, but with other Societies; and among them, you have named a Society called, a Society of the Friends of the People?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know the answer which that Society returned to your's as early as the 26th of May?

A. I do not now recollect the answer.

Q. Perhaps I may assist your memory, by reminding you of the reply of your secretary to that Society?

A. Perhaps it might not be me.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Ashton?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he ever act as Secretary to your Society?

A. Yes.

Q. You have said that your object, and, as far as you know, the object of your Society, was to obtain a Reform by peaceable means, and by enlightening the public—I ask you, if you do not know, that upon the Society of the Friends of the People returning some answer to your Society, that your Society wrote, by means of Ashton, your secretary, disclaiming any farther communication with the Society of the Friends of the People, as unfit for your purpose?

A. That he might do—this I cannot say; but I do not know of a certainty that he did; because great part of the time when he was secretary, I had no concern with the Society.

Q. Was the measure of discarding this Society of the Friends of the People, as unfit for your purposes, discussed in your committees?

A. I do not recollect its being discussed in a Committee.

Q. Was it discussed in any meeting of the Divisions?

A. Not in those meetings of the Divisions I have been speaking of.

Q. Was it in any meetings?

A. Yes, it may have been—I do not recollect that it was.

Q. That answer wont suit me—I ask, whether in any meetings of your Society, the propriety of having nothing farther to do with this Society, the Friends of the People, because they would not go the lengths that made them fit for your communication, was ever discussed?

A. That was discussed.

Q. Was the result of that discussion communicated to your associated Society, the Constitutional Society, that this Society, the Friends of the People, whatever they professed to do, were not

not fit persons for your having any thing more to do with them?

A. I do not know that such a letter was communicated, nor such a letter received.

Q. I do not ask you, whether you know that such a letter was received, or whether you know that such a letter was sent; but I ask you, if the result of your deliberation was not, that they were unfit for your Society, that the Constitutional Society might be so informed?

A. Nay, I am not certain that it was the result of the determination of that meeting; I rather think that it was determined afterwards, if it was determined at all.

Q. Do you recollect whether Mr. Yorke took any part in that discussion?

A. No; he was not there then.

Q. Who were the parties?

A. Several persons spoke, among whom I was one.

Q. Have you read the declarations published by that Society, called the Friends of the People: doubtless you have, for your information; or if you have not read them yourself, have they been read in your Society?

A. I might have read them—I will not say—I believe I might.

Q. Do you not know that in language, to which to be sure I can do no justice, they declared their firm intention, by all constitutional and proper means, to produce that very thing which you state to have been your object, a Reform in the Representation of the Commons House of Parliament?

A. Great numbers of people did not believe them—they did not believe them to be honest.

Q. However, they had made those professions?

A. Yes; there was something of that.

Q. But that you did not quite believe. Was this, think you, as early as the 26th of May, 1792, that you disclaimed these Friends of the People?

A. It may, I do not recollect the time exactly; I think it might be about that time.

Q. And that was long before Mr. Yorke came among you upon his last mission?

A. It was.

Q. And of course long before all these discussions. Be so good as to tell me a little more distinctly what this mischievous handbill was that excited you to arms—I believe it was calling upon people to associate, and to arm against foreign invaders and domestic enemies?

A. Yes; but not with any magistrate's name to it.

Q. But the object was calling upon the people of Sheffield to arm against foreign invaders and domestic enemies?

A. Yes; and that meeting, when arms were spoken of, it was determined, in several resolutions, to get those arms for the same purpose, in reply to that.

Q. Let us see that we quite understand one another. Did you adopt that handbill, and arm in consequence of it, or were you alarmed at its being prodigiously unconstitutional, and arm against it?

A. I never did.

Q. But the Society?

A. Some few might.

Q. Was that to arm against the invasion of foreign enemies, or protect yourselves against attack from domestic enemies?

A. It was couched in words, which were taken and put into resolves, and advertised in Gale's Paper the next week.

Q. Your Society, after this handbill, calling upon people to arm against foreign invaders and domestic enemies, took that handbill as their text, commenting upon it, adopting their resolution, and arming themselves?

A. Yes, against foreign invaders and domestic enemies.

Q. Your reason for doing this was, that you were afraid of illegal force being used against you, as had been done at Manchester and at Birmingham. Did you apply to any magistrate for protection?

A. It was needless till the injury was done.

Q. Give me the facts first, and the comment afterwards. Did you

you apply to any magistrate, informing him, that you, who were peaceable persons, had been threatened with attacks, and wanted the protection of the civil power?

A. No; why should we till we were attacked.

Q. I am not capable of arguing with you; I say that unaffectedly. Did you apply to any magistrate, informing him, that any peaceable persons had been threatened with attacks, and wanted the protection of the civil power?

A. No, not to my knowledge.

Q. But, on the contrary, you published resolutions for arming?

A. To that purpose, couched in their words.

Q. You had no intention at all of altering the Government, but of applying to the House of Commons to redress the grievances, under which the people suffered?

A. I always understood it in that light.

Q. How early was it that you came to resolutions in your Society to petition the House of Commons no more; for that these 558 persons were too fine Gentlemen for you; and you were not used to the courtly language that would suit their ears?

A. These were drawn up by Gale and Yorke, and therefore they were winked at out of complaisance to them.

Q. And you, who were too rough for the House of Commons, were courtly enough to pass these resolutions which were proposed by Yorke and Gale, two of the active members of the Society—You say the Society winked at them?

A. I suppose they did, knowing them to be of superior knowledge.

Q. However, pass them you did?

A. Yes, believing them to be of superior knowledge to ourselves.

Q. The next step was to form a Convention, and by the delegates to procure a full, fair, and equal representation by means of the Convention?

A. There was then at that very time a petition to the King.

Q. About the Slave-trade?

A. Yes, and about a Reform too.

Q. Whether this was a part of these resolutions which passed upon

upon the subject of arming—"That the landing of Hessian troops
 " in this country, a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers,
 " without consent of Parliament, has a suspicious and alarming
 " appearance, is contrary to the spirit of our constitution, and
 " deserving of the marked indignation of every Englishman"—
 Was that one of the resolutions that you passed at the time of
 adopting the resolution about the handbill?

A. That was passed when the lecture was read.

Q. Was that long after the handbill?

A. No; long before.

Q. "That it is high time to be upon our guard, since these
 " armed monsters may in a moment be let loose upon us, and
 " particularly as the erection of barracks throughout the kingdom
 " may only have been an introductory measure to the filling them
 " with foreign mercenaries"—Was that one of the resolutions
 you passed long before the handbill?

A. Some time before; I do not know exactly how long.

Q. Be so good as to tell me, as you were to arm at Sheffield,
 very properly as I agree with you, for the sake of preventing at-
 tacks upon you, whether you communicated to any other parts
 of the kingdom the sort of instruments with which you meant to
 arm yourselves, and your plan of arming?

A. I never did; and I don't know whether any body else did
 or no.

Q. Do you mean to say, that you do not now know that your
 Society communicated plans for arming, the mode of procuring
 the instruments, and the models of the weapons?

A. I never knew a syllable of that till I was informed of it
 before the Privy Council.

Q. Then if Davison, in the name of the Society, sent any
 such letter to London, you was not in that secret?

A. I was not.

Q. You know Davison very well?

A. Yes, I knew him some little time.

Q. He was a member of the Society?

A. Yes, I suppose he was.

Q. You have told me, there was no man at Sheffield mad
 enough

enough to think of altering the Government by force at all—Do you include Davison in the number?

A. Well, but at the same time, there may be wicked men among all bodies.

Q. Doubtless there may—Do you include Davison in the number of those who you say are not to be found in Sheffield, with any bad intention against his Majesty, or the government of the country?

A. I will say this, he did it without the knowledge of the Society, and that he did it without my knowledge.

Q. That is not an answer to my question.

A. I have not a doubt of that being proved; but how can I speak to it when I did not know it?

Mr. Attorney General. While we wait for the next witness, we will read that part of the paper called the Fast Day, as observed at Sheffield, which relates to the landing the Hessian troops—This was in the year 1794.

The following Extracts were read from a printed Pamphlet, entitled,

“ FAST DAY, as observed at SHEFFIELD.

“ A SERIOUS LECTURE, delivered at SHEFFIELD, Feb. 28th,

“ 1794, being the Day appointed for a GENERAL FAST: to

“ which are added a HYMN, and RESOLUTIONS.

(From the Beginning to Page 3.)

“ FAST DAY.

“ A Royal Proclamation having been issued, commanding Febru-

“ ary the 28th, 1794, to be observed as a General Fast, the

“ Friends of PEACE and REFORM, in Sheffield, determined to

“ honour the Day in the most distinguished Manner. Accord-

“ ingly the THOUSANDS of that Town assembled upon a

“ spacious plain near West-street, Backfields, where the Meet-

“ ing was opened with Prayer; after which a SERIOUS LEC-

“ TURE, suitable to the Occasion, was read with great Energy

“ to

“ to the immense Concourse of People, who listened in the most
 “ attentive Silence. A HYMN, prepared for this Solemnity,
 “ was then sung in full Chorus by the whole Assembly. Imme-
 “ diately after, WILLIAM CAMAGE being called to the
 “ Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed, and
 “ the Meeting dissolved in that orderly and peaceable Manner,
 “ which so eminently distinguishes the patriotic Inhabitants of
 “ Sheffield.

“ A SERIOUS LECTURE,

“ In every age of the world, the cause of truth has always met
 “ with its opposers, whenever it chanced to clash with the in-
 “ terests of a venal tribe of Kings, Courtiers, Priests, and their
 “ accomplices. By reading over the 18th chapter of 1 Kings,
 “ we find that this was the case; yet the Almighty was pleased
 “ by an act of Omnipotent Power, to overturn the malice and
 “ wicked intentions of that infamous tyrant Ahab, and the Sa-
 “ tellites who surrounded him: for, in the presence of them all
 “ (though it made against them) Truth shone forth with redou-
 “ bled splendour, and the very judgment which Elijah would
 “ probably have met with, had not God been for him, fell on
 “ those abominable Deceivers of Mankind. I refer you to the
 “ chapter itself, and without further introduction, I shall make a
 “ few remarks on the events of that period, as it must be obvious,
 “ to every ingenious mind, that there is a great similarity be-
 “ twixt the conduct of the rulers of that day, and those of the
 “ present: therefore it may be needful to observe,

“ First, Baal’s priests could not possibly succeed, because he
 “ to whom they prayed could not help them. Baal, being a
 “ name given to an Heathen God, who had no existence except
 “ in the imagination of his devotees. And 2dly, They had a bad
 “ cause in hand, therefore, were not likely to prevail; no mo-
 “ tives to induce them but pride; no appetites to serve, but what
 “ were sensual and devilish, so that if they had offered sacrifice
 “ to the true God, in a bad cause, they would not have obtained
 “ their end—for ‘ the ears of the Lord are not open to the cries
 “ of the foolish, but unto the wise.’

“ It is in this point of light, I view, with concern, a combina-
 “ tion

" tion of Kings apparently leagued against the cause of Freedom;
 " a combination which I believe to be odious in the sight of
 " Heaven, although for its support we are commanded a second
 " time from the Throne, not of God, to fast and pray for the
 " success of our arms over our brethren, who are struggling for
 " every thing that is dear to Man, and which is the will of God
 " he should be possessed of—LIBERTY, civil, political, and re-
 " ligious. Life without them is a burden."

(Page II, RESOLUTIONS, &c.)

" RESOLUTIONS.

" RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

" 1. That War, the wretched artifice of Courts, is a System
 " of Rapine and Blood, unworthy of rational beings, and utterly
 " repugnant to the mild and benevolent principles of the Christian
 " Religion.

" 2. That if the present war, be a war of Combined Kings
 " against the people of France, to overthrow that Liberty which
 " they are struggling to establish, it is, in our opinion, a war of
 " the most diabolical kind.

" 3. That when public Fasts and Humiliations are ordered
 " with the same breath, which commands the shedding of oceans
 " of Human Blood—however they may answer the purposes of
 " State Policy—they are solemn prostitutions of Religion.

" 4. That the landing of Hessian troops in this country (a fe-
 " rocious and unprincipled horde of Butchers) without consent
 " of Parliament, has a suspicious and alarming appearance, is
 " contrary to the spirit of our Constitution, and deserving of the
 " marked indignation of every Englishman.

" 5. That it is high time to be upon our *Guard*, since these
 " armed monsters may in a moment be let loose upon us; parti-
 " cularly, as the erection of barracks throughout the kingdom
 " may only have been an introductory measure to the filling them
 " with Foreign Mercenaries.

" 6. That the high and free-born minds of Britons, revolt at
 " the

“ the idea of such a Slavish System, and cannot be so far broken,
 “ as to kiss the hand which would chain them to its will.

“ 7. That Peace and Liberty are the offspring of Heaven, and
 “ that *Life* without them is a burden.

“ 8. That the Thanks of this Meeting are due to Earl Stan-
 “ hope, for his Motion and spirited Speech for acknowledging
 “ the French Republic, and restoring *Peace* to our distressed
 “ country; for his Motions and able Speech in behalf of the
 “ persecuted and suffering patriots, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skir-
 “ ving, and Margarot, in which he nobly stood alone; and also
 “ for the whole of his truly animated and benevolent exertions in
 “ support of the injured *Rights of the People*.

“ 9. The Thanks of this Meeting are also due to Mr. Sheri-
 “ dan, for his nervous and eloquent Speeches in the cause of in-
 “ jured Patriotism, and in support of the Constitution; and also
 “ to every other Member of Parliament who has nobly stood
 “ forward at this important crisis, in support of the Constituti-
 “ onal Liberties of Englishmen.

“ 10. That if any thing had been necessary to have convinced
 “ us of the total inefficacy of argument against a Ministerial Ma-
 “ jority, the decisions which have lately taken place in Parlia-
 “ ment, would have fully confirmed our opinion.

“ 11. That therefore the People have no remedy for their
 “ grievances, but a REFORM IN PARLIAMENT—a mea-
 “ sure which we determine never to relinquish, though we follow
 “ our Brethren in the same Glorious Cause to *Botany Bay*.

“ W. CAMAGE, Chairman.”

“ LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY.

“ UNITED FOR A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

“ *Committee Room, March 20, 1794.*

“ RESOLVED, That the Society approve the sentiments con-
 “ tained in the Serious Lecture delivered to the CONSTITU-
 “ TIONAL SOCIETY at SHEFFIELD, on the 28th of
 “ last month—and earnestly recommend it to the perusal of
 “ all

" all who think CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY a
 " Blessing.

" Resolved, That the Commanding a *General Fast* for the
 " purpose of imploring the Divine Father of *Mercy and Peace* to
 " support and prosper us in the *horrid act* of deliberately *destroy-*
 " *ing* our fellow-creatures, is repugnant to the true spirit and
 " principles of Christianity, where we are commanded to *pray*
 " for our enemies, &c. And further considering, that a great
 " part of the PEOPLE are unacquainted with the nature of the
 " *present* WAR, either as to its *justice* or *necessity* (every en-
 " deavour being used to keep them ignorant of the *real* princi-
 " ples and design for which it was commenced) to *approach* and
 " to *supplicate* the OMNISCIENT POWER, under such circum-
 " stances, and for such a purpose, must indeed be dreadful, since
 " knowledge and conviction are wanting—The *worse* than hy-
 " pocritical hearts of *those* who are the *Authors* of such a mea-
 " sure; although they at present impose upon the ignorant and
 " credulous, by such detestable, such pretended show of devo-
 " tion, cannot escape the chastisement of that *Power*, whom they
 " thus insult, and from whose judgment there is no appeal.

" T. HARDY, Secretary."

" SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION.

" *March 21st, 1794.*

" RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this Society be directed
 " to write to the FRIENDS OF PEACE AND REFORM,
 " AT SHEFFIELD; and to assure *them*, that this Society
 " views with pleasure, their steady exertions to obtain a fair Re-
 " presentation of the PEOPLE of Great-Britain in Parliament;
 " and the proper methods which they have taken to employ *use-*
 " *fully* those days which may be appointed for Public Fasts.

" D. ADAMS, Secretary."

Henry Alexander (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Wood.

Q. Was you a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

" Q. How

Q. How long is it since you first became a member?

A. It was the latter end of the year 1793—I do not know the week.

Q. What division was you?

A. Division 29.

Q. Did you meet at Robinson's Coffee-house, Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Q. How many might your division consist of?

A. I think I was the twenty-fifth member when I went in.

Q. Did you know Mr. Yorke?

A. Yes, by sight.

Q. Was he a member of the Corresponding Society?

A. He became a member while I was there.

Q. Do you remember his being with you the latter end of the year 1793, at Robinson's Coffee-house?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of people might there be assembled at that time?

A. I suppose between 60 and 100—the room was quite full.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke tell you whether he was going to leave you, or not?

A. On the last night that he was at the Society, he took leave of them by a long speech—He said he was going to Bel-gi-um—Bel-gi-na.

Q. Did he say for what purpose he was going there?

A. Yes; that he was going to head the French army, and should be back by Christmas; that he had received a letter from a friend of his in Bel-gi-um, where they were going; that they would be ripe by Christmas—he was going at the head of them.

Q. Ripe for what?

A. For a revolution.

Q. Did he say whether he meant to return into England again?

A. He did.

Q. What more did he say?

A. He said he was in hopes he should come at the head of them to England.

One of the Jury. Where was he to come to?

A. To London.

Q. You say he made a long speech upon his taking leave?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he say to you in that speech—the substance of it?

A. The substance of it was as I informed you before—that he had received a letter to go over; that he had an offer of being a member of the National Convention in France; and that he was in hopes he should have the pleasure of coming here either by Christmas, or the beginning of the year, at the head of them; and that he should see them all ready to join him; and that he was in hopes that Mr. Pitt, with the different ministers he mentioned, and the King's head, would be upon Temple-bar.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. That who would join them?

A. That the Society would.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Whose heads upon Temple-bar?

A. Mr. Pitt's he mentioned, the Ministers', and the King's.

Mr. Wood. Recollect as much more of the speech as you can.

One of the Jury. Did you mention the time when this meeting took place?

A. It was the 5th of November, 1793.

Mr. Wood. Did he say any thing to you about the King and Queen of France?

A. Yes, he did—he made some observations upon them, but I cannot recollect the words now.

Q. But the substance of it?

A. The substance of it was, that it was what they had deserved—that they had met with their desert.

Q. Did he say any thing about war?

A. I do not recollect that he did.

Q. Did he say any thing about the Sans Culottes?

A. He did make mention of the Sans Culottes; that they were a set of brave fellows—He said a deal about them, that they were a set of brave fellows.

Q. Do not you recollect what he said besides?

A. I do not.

Q. Did he say any thing to you about arms?

A. He did.

Q. What did he say about arms?

A. He said that he was in hopes when he came, he should find them all ready to join him, and that when the point came that he hoped they would not be afraid, and spring or shrink from what they pretended to be; he said, it was impossible to do any thing without some bloodshed.

One of the Jury. Who did you mean by the *they*?

A. The society; he was speaking to the society.

Mr. Wood. What did he say about bloodshed?

A. He said, that there would be no good done without some bloodshed.

Q. Did he say any thing to you about Sheffield, or the people at Sheffield?

A. He said, that there was a set of brave men there.

Q. Did he tell you in what they were brave?

A. I cannot say that he did.

Q. What more did he say about the Sheffield men?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Where was the blood to be shed?

A. He did not say.

Q. Did he say any thing about bread and cheese, do you recollect?

A. No; there was such a thing mentioned in the society one night before; there was a person came in from Sheffield, and said that they had pikes made at Sheffield at sixpence a-piece; there was another made answer in the room, who he was I did not know, nor him from Sheffield; he said it would be good for them to have the same, it would only be living upon bread and cheese for one day; Mr. Yorke was not there then.

Q. Was it the same night?

A. No, it might be two or three nights before.

Q. How was Mr. Yorke's speech received among you?

A. Quite unanimous; when he got up we all got up and shook hands with him; all rose and shook hands with him when he got up and left the room.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Did you see Mr. Yorke any more?

A. I saw him no more after that.

Mr. Wood.

Mr. Wood. Do you know where he went?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you continue in the society after that night, or leave it?

A. I went after that to Mr. Dundas's office, and likewise to my Lord-Mayor, who is sitting there:—No, it was Sir James Sanderfon.

Q. Have you seen any other bills like that (*shewing one to the witness*)?

A. No.

Q. Did you see that before?

A. No.

Q. Why did you go to my Lord-Mayor?

A. Because I thought it was proper that Government should be let into the light of what they were proceeding upon; immediately as I found out what they were I gave information.

Q. What had you apprehended them to be at the first?

A. At the first I was asked to go to the society—I did not know what they were; as soon as I got in, Smith was delegate; the person with me was a friend of Smith's; they asked me to be made a member—I agreed; I did not know what it was, I gave thirteen-pence, and they gave me a ticket.

Q. Where is it?

A. I gave it to Mr. Dundas's Secretary.

Q. How long was it before that?

A. I think I was seven times there.

Henry Alexander;

Cross-examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. What are you?

A. A linen-draper.

Q. Where do you live?

A. At the Rose, in the Fleet-market; I reside there at present.

Q. At what time of the year was it that you first went with your friend to this society?

A. Towards the latter end of the year 1793.

Q. Did you go for the purpose of being a member?

A. I did not, though I became one.

Q. For what purpose did you go?

A. I went for the purpose of going to a club; my acquaintance asked me if I would go to a society with him, and I went.

Q. Who is this friend?

A. His name is Whitehorn.

Q. You went there perhaps from curiosity?

A. Nothing else.

Q. Was Mr. Yorke there that night?

A. He was not.

Q. Who might be there that first night?

A. Some that were there as delegates; Ashley was there, and Baxter was there; these are all I know by name, except Whitehorn.

Q. What day of the month was it?

A. I cannot say.

Q. What day of the week was it?

A. Of a Tuesday.

Q. In what month?

A. I cannot say the month.

Q. Try?

A. I cannot.

Q. Did you hear any thing that offended you that night?

A. No, nothing at all.

Q. How long did they sit?

A. 'Till twelve—'till near one o'clock.

Q. What did they converse about?

A. They had papers.

Q. Were they read?

A. I think Mr. Smith had some pamphlet that night to be read; he generally brought papers of some kind.

Q. Then you heard it read?

A. Yes; there was something read that night.

Q. Did you become a member that night?

A. Yes.

Q. After you had heard that read?

A. There was nothing read till after I was admitted a member.

Q. Then you was suddenly converted into a member; you
went

went there out of mere curiosity, with no design of becoming a member, and at once, when Smith started up, you became a member ?

A. He asked Whitehorn.

Q. And Whitehorn went from curiosity ?

A. No, he belonged to them before, to a society in Holborn, which I did not know till afterwards.

Q. When did you go next time ?

A. I missed two or three nights.

Q. You say you attended seven meetings ?

A. I think I attended seven times.

Q. Was Yorke there the second time ?

A. No.

Q. Who was there the second time ?

A. I do not recollect—Smith was there.

Q. Did not you become acquainted with the people who were there, by conversing with them ?

A. No ; I conversed with Ashley, I spoke to him two or three times.

Q. You became a member, because you wished to propagate their opinions and doctrines ?

A. Not at all.

Q. Then in plain English you went there as a spy ; did you not ?

A. When I went I did not know what it was.

Q. When you became a member, did not you become a member for the purpose of informing ?

A. After I knew what they were I did.

Q. Had you had any opinions upon the subject of a Reform ; did you wish a Reform of Parliament ?

A. I did not.

Q. Then why did you become a member if you did not wish for a Reform in Parliament, but for the purpose of being a spy ?

A. When I became a member I did not know what they were.

Q. Did you not know they were a society for Parliamentary Reform ?

A. Yes.

Q. You say you did not wish a Parliamentary Reform?

A. I scarce knew what they meant by it when they read it over.

Q. Did you wish a Parliamentary Reform when you became a member, when you heard that paper read the first night. Now mind; did you wish a Parliamentary Reform, or any alteration in the House of Commons, or in the government any way:— Upon your oath (*look across to the Jury*)—Did you, upon your oath, when you became a member of that society, wish and desire to have any alteration in any part of the government—You need not look at me, I shall hear it well enough; why do you hesitate—come, cough it up, answer me that upon your oath; are you acquainted with Mr. Dunn, of Manchester?

A. No.

Q. I should have thought you was?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Why do not you answer the question?

A. I do not understand you.

Mr. Erskine. I am sorry for it; I believe you are the only one in court that does not: I will put it again to you, because I wish to be civil to you. Did you wish a Parliamentary Reform, or any alteration in the government, when you became a member of that society?

A. I never wished any thing of the kind.

Q. Then, upon your oath, why did you become a member of a society for Parliamentary Reform, if you wished nothing of the kind?

A. The reason of my becoming a member, was, when I went in, as I said before, Smith asked Whitehorn if I would not be made a member; he said no, I had better not to-night; but Smith urged him, and said make him a member; then one got up and read a paper, I heard him read something, but I did not understand what he read till after I got the paper from him; they gave me afterwards what they read over, and the ticket,

Q. Then you read it?

A. I do not know I read it that night.

Q. Did you read it before you went there again?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Then since you took the paper read in the society home with you, and read it in the interval between the first time and the second time of your going there, you must approve of it before you went a second time?

A. I did not.

Q. You thought there was danger in it?

A. I read it to two or three of my friends; they were of the same opinion as myself.

Q. What is become of the paper?

A. I left it at Mr. Dundas's office.

Q. Then you went of course, the second time, for the purpose of becoming an informer?

A. I did; I went to see what they were upon?

Q. Between the first and second time you went to that society, or before you went to it at all, had you been desired by any body to go for that purpose?

A. I had not.

Q. Then you went of your own mere motion, because you wished to be serviceable to the public by going there?

A. The second time I did.

Q. When you was there you pretended to be a friend, no doubt, and to approve of what was going on?

A. I did.

Q. Whereas in fact you were a spy?

A. So I proved at last.

Q. You went the second time in order to be one?

A. I went in order to see what their plan was—what the real grounds of it were.

Q. Did you take down any minutes on paper?

A. They would not suffer it.

Q. You went again a third time?

A. I did.

Q. Was it then that Yorke talked of the pikes?

A. No.

Q. They met weekly, did not they?

A. Every week.

Q. That would extend to near two months; then of course you can tell us what month it was in?

A. The month I went I cannot say.

Q. How long ago; was it in 1793 or 1794?

A. In 1793.

Q. Was it winter or summer?

A. Towards the latter end of the year.

Q. How long before Christmas, think you?

A. I cannot say that; I recollect the day when Yorke made his speech, I attended twice after I had been with Mr. Dundas?

Q. Should you know the persons if you saw them, that attended at this meeting at the end of this year?

A. I cannot say—I should know Ashley.

Q. If you saw the countenances of the same people that you saw in that room?

A. I do not know—I could not swear to them.

Q. Were they generally the same people, or different people?

A. Different people; they came from different divisions.

Q. How many people do you mean to swear were in the room that rose up and shook hands with Mr. Yorke, when he stated what you have told the Jury about bloodshed and about arms?

A. To say exactly I cannot remember; there might be in the room upwards of sixty, or between that and an hundred; the room was as full as it could hold.

Q. I have almost forgot the name of the place?

A. A coffee-house in Shire-lane.

Q. Then they all shook hands with Mr. Yorke, in applause and approbation of what he said?

A. Yes, they did when he got up to quit the room.

Q. Was that when he was going to *Bel-gi-um*?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that the word he made use of, that he was going to *Bel-gi-um*?

A. Yes—*Bel-gi-am* or *Bel-gi-um*.

Q. Had you heard of that place before?

A. No, nor did not know what it was.

Q. And he said he was going to head the French army?

A. Yes;

A. Yes, he was going to Bel-gi-um to head the French army, and should be back by Christmas; that he had received a letter from a friend of his in Bel-gi-um, that they would be ripe by Christmas.

Q. You did this, no doubt, as a lover of your country merely?

A. Nothing else.

Q. Nothing else but that?

A. No other reason.

Q. Then you went voluntarily, without ever being employed by any body, or desired by any body?

A. There were three of my friends I mentioned it to, who thought I should do right, they said, in giving the information.

Q. Who are they?

A. One, his name is Broughton, another is a widow lady, Mrs. Grasswood, and Mr. Bryant.

Q. How long have you been in business for yourself?

A. I am not in business for myself.

Q. What are you then?

A. A linen-draper by profession.

Q. But not for yourself?

A. No.

Q. Who do you live with?

A. I am not in a situation at present.

Q. You are in a very singular situation, I think; what do you mean by not being in a situation?

A. Not in employment.

Q. How long is it since you was in employment?

A. In May last.

Q. Where did you live?

A. In Moorfields.

Q. Where there?

A. At Mr. Kellerby's, No. 14, Finsbury-Place.

Q. He is a linen-draper, I suppose?

A. He was then—he has since let his shop to another; he carries on the tailoring business.

Q. How long did you live with Mr. Kellerby?

A. Five months.

Q. When

Q. When was it you went to him?

A. I left him in May—I went to him in December?

Q. You came to him in December?

A. In December.

Q. You came to him as a shopman, did you?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you live before that?

A. At Mr. Faulder's, a linen-draper, on Holborn-bridge.

Q. Did you live long there?

A. I lived there almost two years.

Q. Since you last left this Mr. Kellerby, have you been applying for any other business?

A. Yes.

Q. What sort of business? (*look across to the Jury*)

A. For the same.

Q. It is a long time in this town, where there is so much linen and callico, to be out of business; who have you applied to, during that time, to be employed?

A. I have applied to different people.

Q. To whom?

A. To Twyman and James, in Holborn,

Q. Who else?

A. I applied to another person who has just opened shop; he was going to open shop, Mr. Marley, in Holborn, with him I agreed to live, No. 320, facing Gray's-inn-gate.

Q. How happened it you left him?

A. Because I was obligated to attend here.

Q. Then you have lost your business by attending here?

A. I have.

Q. Then you are a good patriot, indeed! so that from a zeal for the truth, and in order to prove that which you have been proving, you broke off your agreement with this Mr. Marley?

A. Yes.

Q. What was he to give you a year?

A. Twenty-five pounds.

Q. How long ago is it since you entered into this engagement with him?

A. Some

A. Some time before he opened shop.

Q. You know, I do not know when he opened shop; when was that?

A. On the twenty-second of last month, I think.

Q. How long was it before he opened shop, that you entered into this agreement with him?

A. I cannot say.

Q. A day or two days?

A. A considerable time before.

Q. How long?

A. I believe the latter end of July, or the beginning of August.

Q. So you entered into an agreement with him; when did you go to tell him that you could not go on with this agreement?

A. I told him.

Q. How long ago?

A. I told him the day after I had the subpoena that I must leave him.

Q. How long ago is it that you had the subpoena?

A. I had the subpoena last Tuesday fortnight.

Q. Who subpoena'd you?

A. Mr. Wood.

Q. Was you told it was necessary that you should give up your employment for that?

A. No.

Q. Did you ask, whether they would allow you to continue with this linen-draper, and give you notice when you should be wanted?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you apply to the Solicitor of the Treasury, or any body engaged in this prosecution, to tell them that you had entered into such an engagement?

A. No.

Q. So you gave up your employment voluntarily, because you was wanted here at the Old-Bailey, for half an hour?

A. Yes, for no other reason.

Q. Did you ask Mr. Marley whether he would consent to take

take you as his shopman, and allow you to come here for the purpose of giving evidence?

A. No.

Q. Had you an idea that Mr. Marley would have refused to permit you to obey the King's writ, by coming to give evidence here?

A. For that continuance of time that I expected it would be.

Q. Where is Mr. Marley's shop?

A. In Holborn.

Q. So you mean to swear, that having entered into an engagement with Mr. Marley, to receive 25*l.* a year, you put yourself out of employ without ever asking him, whether your attendance here was consistent with his employment, or asking the Solicitor of the Treasury, whether he would give you notice when you would be wanted to give evidence?

A. Yes, I only left him last Friday.

Q. What reason did you give him?

A. I said I was going out of town.

Q. Then you do not speak the truth, I suppose, unless when you are upon oath?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Why then did you tell him you was going out of town?

A. Because I expected to be sent for to Sheffield about Yorke.

Q. How could you expect it when you knew that this trial was coming on, and you was subpoenaed here?

A. I expected to go after, as soon as this was over.

Q. What made you suppose you should be called to go down to Sheffield as soon as this trial was over?

A. I only surmised that in my own imagination.

Q. Had any body told you you was to be employed upon that business, after you had been here upon this job?

A. No.

Q. Then what made you think you was to go down to Sheffield after Mr. Yorke?—Look at the Jury, do not look so much at me, I have seen enough of you.

A. The reason of my thinking so was, I had been informed before,

before, that he was expected to have been tried at the last assizes at York.

Q. Who informed you so?

A. Mr. Wood.

Q. You told me a little while ago you did not know you was to go down; it was only a surmise of your own mind?

A. Immediately after this was over.

Q. You have not sought out for any employment since, have you?

A. No.

Q. Where did you live before you lived with this Mr. Kellerby?

A. At Mr. Faulder's.

Q. Where before that?

A. In Cheapside, with Mr. Smith.

Q. How long is that ago?

A. That is between four and five years ago.

Q. How long did you live with Mr. Smith, in Cheapside?

A. I was with him eighteen months, I believe.

Q. And left him five years ago?

A. I do not know that that is exactly the time---I left him; and went in the country for eleven months.

Q. For your health, I suppose?

A. I went to see my friends.

Q. Where do they live?

A. At Washford, near Salisbury, six miles from Salisbury.

Q. Who are your friends you went to see there?

A. My aunt.

Q. What is her name?

A. Alexander.

Q. How long did you stay with her?

A. I was there eleven months.

Q. That is eleven months out of five years, when you paid your affectionate respects to your aunt---What did you do when you came back---Where did you go next?

A. To Mr. Marley's.

Q. That cannot be, you know; for that is five years ago?

A. I went

A. I went from Smith's to Faulder's.

Q. You know it is five years ago.

A. It is rather better than four, I believe.

Q. You lived eighteen months with Mr. Smith; you went to your aunt's, and staid eleven months; when you came back, after having paid this visit, and after you had left Smith, where did you live before you went to Faulder's?

A. I was with an aunt in Old Bedlam.

Q. Another aunt?

A. Yes.

Q. Where is Old Bedlam?

A. On the other side Moorfields.

Q. Is her name Alexander?

A. No, Simpson.

Q. How long did you live with her?

A. It is impossible for me to say exactly how long it was.

Q. Did you live there up to the time; for if you don't tell me that, I shall ask you where you did live. Did you live with your aunt in Old Bedlam after you came out of the country up to the time you went to Faulder's?—I do not want to hurry you.

A. I went to Smith's when I returned from the country; from Smith's I went to my aunt's, in Old Bedlam, and was there till I went to Faulder's.

Q. I am thrown out quite; you have changed the whole thing upon me at once—When you write your life you must be a little more correct. I will just take it down---How long is it ago since you lived with Smith?

A. Rather better than four years; but I cannot be certain.

Q. What did you leave Smith for?

A. We had some words.

Q. Had some words---what might the words be, think you?

A. I do not know I am sure exactly now; we had some words, and upon that account we parted.

Q. You have an amazing good memory; you have repeated a whole speech a man made at a meeting; but you cannot remember the few words that passed between you and your master---Now try; I will sit down and give you time.

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Why don't you give an answer?

A. I cannot recollect the words, it is so long ago.

Mr. Erskine. Then you do not remember the words.

A. I do not.

Q. When you have words with a man, it means you had a quarrel—You know I did not ask you what you said to your master, and what he said to you; but what was the quarrel about—You must have a strange memory for a witness—who is to repeat a whole speech, if you do not remember for what you left your master—I wish you would look at those Gentlemen; they are very good-looking men.

Mr. Attorney-General. Mr. Erskine has said repeatedly, that this witness had represented that he stated the whole speech that Mr. Yorke made—I say, that is not only not correct, but it is very far from correctness.

Mr. Erskine. I am exceedingly glad to be corrected, and I shall esteem it no interruption whenever you do; because I am so used to this work that nothing can put me out—Do try and recollect what was the nature of the quarrel between you and Mr. Smith.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Do you recollect, and if you do, have you any objection to telling us?

A. No.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Then do you recollect what you quarrelled with Mr. Smith about?

Mr. Erskine. I am entitled to have the benefit of this Gentleman's deponent—If your Lordship will just indulge me for one moment.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Give him fair play.

Mr. Erskine. He has certainly had fair play—I wish we had as fair play; but that is not addressed to the court.

Mr. Attorney-General. But who do you mean?

Mr. Erskine. I say the prisoner has a right to fair play.

Mr. Garrow. But you said it was not said to the Court.

Mr. Erskine. But I am not to be called to order by the Bar—Do you or do you not recollect what was the cause of your quarrel with your master?

A. Some

A. Some words that happened between the shopman and me—We had words first, and then my master and I had some words on account of it, and then we parted.

Q. What was the nature of the quarrel between you and the shopman, which led to the quarrel between you and your master; because now you see you begin to recollect it?

A. We had some high words and he called me, I said I would not be put upon.

Q. People seldom begin to abuse one another without some reason.

A. We had words—I was hot as well as him, I suppose—We called one another fools—I do not know whether we did not strike one another—He wanted to be head—I said I would not put up with it.

Q. Who was he?

A. His name is Williams.

Q. What is his Christian name?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Do you know where he went to afterwards?

A. I do not.

Q. Have you ever seen Mr. Smith since you parted from him?

A. Yes, once.

Q. From Mr. Smith's did you go to your aunt—You told me before that you had gone to your aunt's, and returned from near Salisbury to Mr. Smith's?

A. I went to Mr. Smith's after returning from Salisbury; then I went to my aunt's in Old Bethlem; there I was till I went to Mr. Faulder's.

Q. You are sure it was in the latter end of the year 1793, that you heard all this about pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you hear at the third meeting you went to?

A. I cannot say—I took no particular notice of any thing that I heard but that night.

Q. How long did you stay the third time?

A. Till between eleven and twelve o'clock.

Q. At what time did you go in the evening?

A. About

A. About eight—between eight and nine.

Q. And staid till between eleven and twelve?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any thing said that third night?

A. I won't pretend to say I do any night; except that time that Yorke made his speech; that I can recollect particularly—various things were read over at different times.

Q. What were you doing between the hours of eight and twelve at night?

A. Sitting there—they kept the books open, and they admitted members, till nine o'clock; I think it was.

Q. How many members were admitted that night?

A. I cannot say.

Q. But there were some members admitted?

A. I do not know whether any members were admitted that night—there was in general, of nights; but the books were kept open for admission of them till nine o'clock.

Q. But I take for granted, that a great deal must be said between eight and nine, and eleven and twelve; because you know you went there in order to inform?

A. I went there to hear what they had to say.

Q. In order to inform, you have told us before—Then did you hear nothing at all?

A. I took no particular notice of any thing.

Q. You went the fourth night—did you?

A. Yes.

Q. What time in the evening did you go the fourth night?

A. I suppose about the same time.

Q. And since you went in order to collect information, you staid, I suppose, till the party broke up. What was said that night?

A. I do not recollect any thing in particular.

Q. Not a syllable?

A. I do not recollect any thing at all.

Q. What time did you go the fifth night?

A. About the same time, I suppose.

Q. And staid, of course, till it broke up?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you recollect nothing that passed that fifth night?

A. I can't recollect to say in particular what nights they were—I think I saw Mr. Yorke three times there—he came in with another person—he said they had been to Newgate to Mr. Frost, and that he was to be pilloried the next day—he said he had had some words with Mr. Kirby.

Q. What did you hear said that night by Yorke about the pikes?

A. I never heard Yorke mention about the pikes that I know of; it was a person in the room—I do not think Yorke was there the night the pikes were mentioned; it was a person came in from Sheffield, and said, they could get pikes at sixpence a-piece from Sheffield; another said, he thought it would do for them as well as for the people of Sheffield, and it was only living upon bread and cheese for one day.

Q. So that is all that you can remember in all the times that you attended?

A. I remember hearing Yorke speak another time about the army's being defeated, and their having mopsticks to defend Frost while he was pilloried.

Q. Was this on the seventh night?

A. I cannot say.

Thomas Whitehorn (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Bower.

Q. Were you at any time a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I was.

Q. At what time did you begin to be a member?

A. The same evening as the witness that was last examined.

Q. About what time of the year—the beginning, the middle, or the end?

A. Towards the latter end of the year.

Q. What is your profession?

A. I am shopman to a bookseller.

Q. The

Q. The first time you was there was with the last witness, Alexander?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know how Alexander came to go there?

A. I believe we went together.

Q. Did Alexander propose it to you, or you to him?

A. I can't say; but we both went the same evening, I believe.

Q. Were you both admitted the same night?

A. Yes.

Q. How long did you continue a member?

A. I believe we paid for a quarter that evening—I was there, to the best of my knowledge, about four or five times.

Q. Did you see Mr. Yorke there at any of the times?

A. Only once, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. How long did you continue a member after the night you had seen Mr. Yorke there?

A. I was not there above once or twice after that.

Q. Have you quitted the Society?

A. Yes.

Q. How came you to quit it?

A. I could not conveniently attend—I left my situation—I did not know any particular reason.

Q. You remember Mr. Yorke being there?

A. I do particularly.

Q. Were there few or many people in the room at that time?

A. There might be from forty to sixty people.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke come in as an ordinary member, or distinguish himself in any way?

A. He came in as though he had been there before, and seemed to be very well known.

Q. Did he say any thing?

A. He made a long speech; I left him speaking, and do not remember any part of his speech.

Q. Do you mean that there might be forty people when you came in, or when you went away?

A. At each time the room was nearly full.

Q. Though you do not remember the words of his speech,

perhaps you can recollect enough to say, whether it was a moderate or violent speech, or what the subject of it was?

A. He seemed speaking very loud, but I was at the farther end of the room from him.

Q. Can't you take upon you to recollect even what the substance of his speech was?

A. No; not a sentence I could not swear to.

Q. You was there the first night that the other witness went with you?

A. I believe it was the first night.

Q. Do you recollect, before you went out of the room, whether any thing was said about Yorke, about his intentions of either being in one place or another, about going abroad, or being at home, or any thing of that kind?

A. I understood something that he was going abroad.

Q. From whom?

A. I believe he mentioned it in his speech; I did not mind the particular words; or whether I understood it from any body else in the room, I am not certain; but I understood he was about quitting England.

Q. Who did you live with at the time you became a member of this Society?

A. The late Mr. William Owen, in Fleet-street.

Q. Where did you go to after that?

A. To Mr. Baxter's, a Bookseller, No. 81, in the Strand.

Q. Do you recollect enough of the speech that was made by Mr. Yorke on that night, to tell me what impression it made upon your mind at that time?

Mr. Erskine. This cannot possibly be evidence.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. He is able to give no account at all of it; and as to any impression upon his mind, certainly you can't ask him to that.

Mr. Bower. Had you any conversation with Alexander afterwards about what had passed there?

A. I saw him a morning or two after we were there; I believe I might ask him how long he staid after I left the room, or something to that purpose?

Q. You

Q. You say you quitted the society soon after?

A. Very soon after; I believe I was not there above four times.

Q. What was your reason for quitting the Society?

A. Because I left the situation I was in.

Q. Had you no other reason but that?

A. I lodged at a different part of the town, and had not time if I had a will to go.

Q. Was your reason entirely because you had changed your situation, or had you any other reason besides?

A. No; if I had retained my situation, I should have gone again most likely.

Q. Have you always said that that was your reason?—Recollect yourself.

A. I do not know that I have said any thing about it; it was a matter I never thought to be questioned on, and never troubled myself about it.

Q. What part of the room were you in—were you near Mr. Yorke?

A. No, quite the reverse.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. How long have you known Alexander?

A. Some months; I cannot say how long.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What was his situation?

A. He was in a linen-draper's shop.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What shop was he in?

A. At the first of my knowledge of him, at Faulder's, at Holborn-Bridge.

George Widdifon, (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Bower.

Q. You lived at Sheffield, I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your business?

A. A Hair-Dresser.

Q. Have you any other employ?

A. A Turner.

Q. Were you at any time a Member of the Constitutional Society at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time did you become a Member?

A. I do not know exactly; it is about two years ago, or above that.

Q. Were you at any time a delegate, at any division of that meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. What division of the Sheffield meeting were you a delegate of?

A. We were not separated into divisions at that time; we were all united, and used to meet at different houses.

Q. When was the separation made; how long after you became a member; do you recollect at what time you became a delegate?

A. I cannot say.

Q. How many members might there be at that time?

A. Some few hundreds, perhaps.

Q. Was the Fountain one of the houses you met at?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember, at any time, being there at any meeting of the society?

A. Yes.

Q. How many people might be there at the time?

A. To the best of my recollection, that was the first time I attended, and there was, perhaps, about two hundred.

Q. And that is about two years ago?

A. Better than two years.

Q. How long did you continue a member of that society?

A. About two years.

Q. When you first remember the society, where did they hold their meetings at Sheffield?

A. At that house.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know him by any other name?

A. I do not.

Q. When did you first see Mr. Yorke; about what time?

A. About a twelve-month ago, I believe.

Q. Where was it?

A. I cannot tell exactly the place I saw him at; either at Mr. Gale's, or Mr. Marshall's.

Q. Did you ever see him, at any time after, at any of the meetings of the Constitutional Society?

A. Yes; several.

Q. Do you recollect at any time, whether Mr. Yorke took an active part; who was Chairman?

A. He was generally Chairman when he was there.

Q. Was he often there?

A. I have seen him at about three or four different meetings.

Q. About what time, as near as you can recollect, did you see him?

A. I saw him at one meeting in Queen-street.

Q. When was that?

A. It was not long after the execution of the King of France.

Q. When did you see him at any other meeting?

A. I saw him at another meeting, at the sign of the Barrel.

Q. How long was that meeting, do you recollect, after the former?

A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Do you recollect any thing particular in Mr. Yorke's conduct and speech, when you saw him at the Barrel?

A. I do not recollect any thing particular in his speech; he appeared to me to be rather in liquor, at the time he was there.

Q. Do you remember seeing him, at any time after that, at a meeting in the open air?

A. Yes; I saw him at the meeting at the Castle Hill.

Q. That was about the beginning of November last; -- was it not?

A. No; April.

Q. What was done at that meeting?

R 4

A. That

A. That was the meeting that the pamphlet you have been reading was proceeded upon.

Q. Were you there when any delegate was elected?

A. I have been there when there have been delegates elected.

Q. I mean a delegate to the Scotch Convention?

A. Oh! I was there.

Q. When was that?

A. I do not recollect the time; I suppose it is a twelve-month ago nearly.

Q. Who was the delegate?

A. Matthew Campbell Brown.

Q. What was he?

A. He is an Attorney by profession; I believe.

Q. Was he an Attorney at the time he was elected?

A. Yes, he was; but some little time before that he used to act as a player.

Q. Did he go to Edinburgh in consequence of the appointment of a delegate?

A. I believe he did.

Q. Did you see Mr. Yorke, at any time in the present year, at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. In what month?

A. I think the first time that I saw him was the latter end of March, or beginning of April.

Q. Did you attend upon him?

A. I was employed as Hair-Dresser to him.

Q. Where did he live at that time?

A. At one Mr. Cawthorne's.

Q. Had you an opportunity, when you were about Mr. Yorke, to know what he was doing; whether writing any thing; or what he was about?

A. I do not know in particular what he was about.

Q. Did you learn, during the time you attended Mr. Yorke there, whether any address, or any thing was going forward that he had any share in?

A. I cannot

A. I cannot say I did; I saw an address afterwards that was said to be wrote by him.

Q. Were you ever with Mr. Yorke, at any time when any thing was said about arms?

A. Yes; I was.

Q. What time was that; tell us the circumstances first that happened respecting arms, when you have been with Mr. Yorke, and fix the time when it was?

A. It was some time in April, I think,

Q. In April;---tell me what passed in your presence, at Mr. Yorke's, between Yorke and you, respecting arms?

A. I do not know particularly what passed between him and me; it was the general talk of the town, at the time the arms first began making; and Mr. Yorke and me had spoken about it; and other people likewise had been there speaking with him about it.

Q. Who had been there speaking with Yorke about arms, when you have been with him?

A. Not when I have been with him; but people that have been there with him, I have heard them talking about them.

Q. Do you recollect any particular people that you have heard talking with him about arms?

A. I have seen different people there; but I do not know whether those were the people that had been talking to him about arms.

Q. Have you had any conversation with Yorke, or instructions from him, about arms?

A. Not directly with him; I made some myself.

Q. What did you make?

A. I made a dozen for Mr. Gale,

Q. Made a dozen of what?

A. Of pike-shafts,

Q. Did Mr. Yorke know you were making them?

A. Yes; he did.

Q. You were making some for Gale; did Yorke know that?

A. He did.

Q. Did

Q. Did you tell Yorke, or how did he become acquainted with it?

A. I do not recollect whether he spoke first to me upon the subject, or I to him; he asked me once or twice, if I had made them; I told him I was making them; and when I had one made, I carried it to him to ask him, if he thought that size would do for them; he said he thought it would, or to that purpose.

Q. How many did you make?

A. About a dozen, or a dozen and a half.

Q. Did you dispose of them?

A. No; not myself.

Q. What became of them?

A. Mr. Wilkinfon took them.

Q. Mr. Wilkinfon is a Magistrate there?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he seize them all?

A. I do not know; they have not been in my house since.

Q. You only made about that number in the whole?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any conversation with Mr. Yorke respecting the purpose for which these things were to be made?

A. Not particularly with him upon it, more than other people; it was generally understood, that it was to act in our own defence.

Q. You understood it was to act in your own defence?

A. I meant to have one in my own defence.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke say any thing to you about a reform in Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. What passed between him and you, respecting the reform in Parliament that was sought for?

A. We never had much about it between ourselves, but what passed in public; he has chiefly delivered his sentiments in public about it.

Q. Have you ever had conversation with him in private about it?

A. I have

A. I have.

Q. Did you understand from him, what he meant by a reform in Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he tell you?

A. By way of universal suffrage.

Q. How came that conversation between you?

A. I do not know; it was a thing that was often spoken of.

Q. Did Yorke know what you meant by a reform in Parliament?

A. We all understood each other, as I always understood, that we were all for universal suffrage.

Q. When you say *we*, who do you mean?

A. All the society.

Q. Did you inform Mr. Yorke that it was what you understood by it?

A. I do not recollect particularly informing him, that that was my meaning, because it was a matter generally agreed upon among us, and so there was not much disputing about the mode of reform.

Q. In the conversations you had with Mr. Yorke, did you and he uniformly agree about what you meant by a reform in Parliament, or did you differ?

A. We agreed till some few weeks before Mr. Yorke left Sheffield the last time.

Q. In what did you disagree with him?

A. I disagreed with him in respect of universal suffrage.

Q. Did you tell Yorke so?

A. I did.

Q. What said Yorke to that?

A. As near as I can recollect, I told him, when I went one morning to dress him as usual, that I thought the plan of reform we were upon would not do; he asked my motives for it; I told him, I thought it would carry us too far.—Well, says he, I have studied it some time myself; I have read various authors upon the subject; and I can't see that any reform will be of service to the nation, except that.—Very well then, says I, so far you and I differ

differ in opinion, and I will no longer subscribe my name to any thing that tends to universal suffrage.—Very well, he said, then you must give it up; and there the conversation broke up.

Q. After that, did you continue to have the same sort of communication with Mr. Yorke, upon this subject, that you had had before, when you told him your ideas did not go to the length of universal suffrage?

A. No; I had very little conversation with him after that;—it was very seldom that I had much conversation with him upon the subject, when I was with him, for my stay was generally short.

Q. After that you had not the same kind of communication?

A. No.

Q. How long was this before Mr. Yorke left Sheffield?

A. Perhaps two or three weeks before.

Q. Do you remember the meeting in the open air, at Sheffield, in the month of April,

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present at that meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Yorke there?

A. He was.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke make a speech there?

A. Yes; he spoke at considerable length.

Q. Did you hear any part of his speech?

A. Yes; I heard a good deal of it.

Q. After that meeting did you go to see Gale?

A. Yes; I had seen Gale after that.

Q. Had you any conversation with Gale or Yorke about being paid for the shafts you had made?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you paid for them?

A. No.

Q. Who did Yorke tell you to apply to for payment?

A. He did not say in particular who I was to apply to for the payment.

Q. Who was to pay you?

A. Those

A. Those people that took them of me, I expected to pay me.

Q. Did you make them then for sale?

A. Yes.

Q. Did any person buy any?

A. No.

Q. You do not know that the Magistrates seized them, do you?

A. They told me so.

Q. You have said you had only some private conversations with Mr. Yorke, but that he held many other conversations that were not private with you; you have often heard him converse upon these subjects with other persons, not private?

A. I have heard him speak with different people, who have been along with him at different times.

Q. What have you heard him say to any of these persons you have seen him with, upon arms, of any description;---do you know Davison?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever seen him with them?

A. No.

Q. He was a member of the society?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you heard Davison say any thing respecting arms, or providing arms?

A. Davison was a customer of mine, and he and I frequently spoke about them.

Q. A customer of yours; in what way?

A. In the Hair-dressing business.

Q. Had you any directions from Davison, at any time, respecting those shafts?

A. Yes.

Q. What conversation had you with him?

A. He did not give me to understand, that any particular orders were given for them; only that the people in general began to call out for them; that they thought themselves in danger, from the state of the people's minds at that time.

Q. That

Q. That Davison told you?

A. Yes.

Q. You understood it was for your own defence?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any of the books, as a delegate of this society?

A. Yes.

Q. They are not here, I believe?

A. No; I believe not.

George Widdison,

Cross-examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. You seem a decent man; you was two years a member of this society?

A. Yes.

Q. And till within a few weeks of the time that you have been speaking of, you had been of the same opinion with the rest of the society for universal suffrage?

A. Yes; I had.

Q. Were you a friend of your King?

A. Undoubtedly; and of the Queen, both.

Q. As far as you could collect from the conversation and behaviour of these people, with whom for two years you had associated, and who were for universal suffrage, did they appear to you to be people that loved the King?

A. Yes; in general.

Q. I ask you, as an honest man, would you have continued for two years in that society, if you had not had reason to believe, from all you saw and heard, that they were people that loved their King?

A. No; I would not have continued with them, if I had thought they acted from other motives.

Q. You did not think that universal suffrage was inconsistent with love to your King?

A. Undoubtedly not.

Q. What was generally understood by universal suffrage; and who were the people after which your society stated that they copied, in their desire of universal suffrage?

A. The

A. The first resolution that we came into, in that business, was what we took from the Duke of Richmond's plan.

Q. Of universal suffrage?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any of the publications, at that time, of the Duke of Richmond's?

A. Yes; a good many.

Q. Do you remember a letter to Colonel Sharman that was published?

A. Yes; that was in it.

Q. Should you know it, if I was to show it you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it ever read in the society?

A. Yes; I believe it has been.

Q. Did you ever hear it read?

A. Yes; I have heard it read several times, and I think I have heard it read once or twice in the society.

Q. Was it generally approved of?

A. Yes; at the time that we adopted it.

Q. Is that it? (*showing the witness a printed Copy of the Duke of Richmond's Letter to Colonel Sharman.*) Should you recollect, if I were to read this part of it to you? Do you recollect this?—"The subject of a Parliamentary Reform is that which, of all others, in my opinion, most deserves the attention of the public, as I conceive it would include every other advantage which a nation can wish; and I have no hesitation in saying, that, from every consideration which I have been able to give to this great question, that for many years has occupied my mind, and from every day's experience to the present hour, I am more and more convinced, that the restoring the right of voting universally to every man, not incapacitated by nature, for want of reason, or by law, for the commission of crimes, together with annual elections, is the only reform that can be effectual and permanent; I am further convinced, that it is the only reform that is practicable."

A. Yes; that is it; I have read it frequently.

Q. Now

Q. Now I ask you, upon your oath, whether, as far as you know, (what passes in the heart of another man you cannot tell,) but as far as you have collected from the conversation of the people in general with whom you associated, did it appear to you, and did they express themselves, that this was their object?

A. Yes.

Q. Did it appear to you, that there was any disposition in those with whom you associated, to compel this by force of arms?

A. I never understood it so.

Q. Was it from any fear of that sort, or because you changed your mind on the idea of universal suffrage, you thought it not so good a plan?

A. I did not think the people's minds prepared for it.

Q. Do you still continue to think as you did, provided people's minds were prepared for it?

A. When I read that, I looked upon the plan that was laid down so clear, that I thought it could be done without any kind of confusion, provided the people were acquainted with it; but from circumstances since, and upon more mature reflection, I had reason to believe they were not; and it was from the same conviction, that I dissented from it, though I at first approved of it.

Q. Was you a member of this Society at the time they sent their delegate to Scotland?

A. Yes, I was at that time, and some time afterwards.

Q. Did you think you was doing any harm when you consented to the sending of that delegate?

A. I did not consent to it--I happened to be too late; or, I believe, I should have given my consent; but I should not have thought I was doing any harm in it.

Q. What was the understanding of the people of that Society of the nature of that which was to be done in Scotland, to which they sent their delegate?

A. I never understood that they had any other object in view than of drawing up an address to the nation, and likewise a petition

tion

tion to the Government, the Parliament, or some other branch of it.

Q. Did you ever hear any of them say, that petitioning from private societies of men could not be supposed to have such an effect upon Parliament?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Do not put the very words in the witness's mouth.

Mr. Erskine. Your Lordship recollects I am in a cross examination.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You are not to put the very words in his mouth, even on a cross-examination.

Mr. Attorney General. It is a misfortune that that has been the course.

Mr. Erskine. It has been usual so to examine on a cross-examination in the court in which I practice.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I won't stop you, but it is contrary to my practice and my opinion.

Mr. Attorney General. I hope your Lordship will give us the same law on our side.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. In a cross-examination certainly.

Mr. Erskine. I will conform myself as near as I can to your Lordship's wish.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I would not lay down a stricter rule in a case like this than has usually prevailed--- You say it has been your usual practice?

Mr. Attorney General. Those gentlemen who assist me, and who practice in the same court, say it is not so.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I think if you will examine the witness, so as that we may have his own answers, instead of echoing your words, it will have ten times more effect with the Jury.

Mr. Erskine. I will do it with pleasure. Do you recollect any thing being said about the expediency of petitioning Parliament from private bodies of men?

A. I do not understand what you mean by private bodies of men---I always understood that it was in public bodies that we petitioned---our matters were always public.

Q. Was it ever expressed by any body, or from any thing that passed in your presence in the Society, previous to, and at the

time of sending the delegate to Scotland, that they were to assume all the functions of Parliament, and be themselves a Parliament?

A. By no means---I never understood it in that light.

Q. Was there any thing said by any of them, as if that was their conception and their plan?

A. No---I never understood it so.

Q. Would you have been a party to any such thing, if you had understood it so?

A. No, I hope not.

Q. Then did it appear to you, from what you collected (we know there might be bad men in any society) but from what you collected in general of the disposition of your Society, from what you heard them say, and the sort of people they were---did you then, and do you now, consider them to be people attached to their King, at the same time that they were attached to their own freedom?

A. I always looked upon them in the same light.

Q. Are you speaking now your own sentiments?

A. Yes, not only mine, but what I understood were the sentiments of those I was associated with.

Q. Then you look upon them as persons attached to their King?

A. Yes; because I always looked upon it that the King's preservation and the liberties of the people were inseparable; and I believe that was the general idea of the people that were concerned in the Society, that conducted it, most, if not all of them.

Q. That the King's preservation, and the liberty of the subject, were inseparable?

A. I always understood it in that light.

Q. Was any thing said about arms for the purpose of resisting the laws that are under his Majesty's execution?

A. I never heard it mentioned in that light.

Q. Was any thing ever said in your Society concerning arms for attacking the King's Majesty, and putting down the laws which he was to execute?

A. Not in my hearing.

Q. Was what was said about arms at the time the hand-bill was put out?

A. 1

A. I do not remember arms being spoken of in the Society--- it was generally spoken of in conversations we had in each others houses.

Q. When you made a pike for yourself, what did you make it for?

A. To defend myself provided it should be necessary.

Q. What made you collect at that time, about the month of April, that it was likely you should want arms for your defence?

A. Because there was not so good an understanding between the two parties as there was before.

Q. Who do you mean by the two parties?

A. The one, us who were for universal suffrage, the other, who opposed it.

Q. Had you any intention, in making a pike for yourself, to defend yourself against the magistracy of the country, or those people who might illegally attack you?

A. Only against those people who might come without any legal authority from the magistrate, or from the government.

Q. From what you knew of the sentiments of the other persons of the society, did it appear to you that that was the general notion?

A. Yes, I always understood it so; because we have many times been threatened in different companies that we have been in.

Q. Do you mean that you had been threatened with personal violence?

A. Yes, I have myself in different companies that I have frequented—I have heard them remark, those whom we generally looked upon as Aristocrats, or whatever name you might give them, some of the violent ones—That if any thing should happen, that if an invasion should take place in this country, they would destroy their enemies at home first. I have heard that alledged against me and my friends frequently.

Q. What answer did you make when you heard that alledged against you and your friends?

A. I do not know in particular what reply I have made; sometimes perhaps I have said, that I hoped that was not the general

disposition of them; if it was, we should be under the necessity at least of taking means to be prepared for them, or to that effect.

Q. Then you, and those with whom you associated, were well disposed to the government and the constitution of your country?

A. Yes; I never had any intention of altering it, and never understood that that was the intention of the society.

Q. Who was it, if there was an invasion in the country, that said they would make an attack upon the others?

A. That their party would; that they would follow the example of the French.

Q. And attack you and your associates?

A. Yes.

Q. From any thing that passed in your Society relative to their wish of universal suffrage, was there any thing said against the Lords' House of Parliament, or only that you wanted universal suffrage in the Commons?

A. That very rarely formed any part of the conversation with respect to the House of Lords, and the only three pamphlets I ever saw upon it were wrote by Major Cartwright: he proposed some alterations in respect of Representation of the House of Lords, with respect to filling them up by representation.

Q. That was the only book you ever read upon the subject?

A. Yes.

Q. But that was no part of the plan of your Society?

A. No, I never understood that that was adopted; that that was any part of our plan.

Q. Upon the whole, am I to understand you that you continue still attached to the King and Constitution?

A. Yes.

Q. You say you saw Mr. Yorke once when he was drunk?

A. No, he was not drunk; but did not appear to be so sober a man as generally he is.

Q. Have you often seen Mr. Yorke attending at your meetings which you have been speaking of?

A. I have seen him at public meetings some few times.

Q. With the exception of the time when he was a little in liquor,

liquor, as you say, how did he conduct himself in his conversations?

A. Generally very well, from what I saw or heard of him; he used to get a little warm in conversation now and then.

George Widdifon,

Re-examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. I observed you said, that in general you thought people who were desirous of universal suffrage, were well affected to the King, you said, that you understood so in general. You heard Mr. Yorke's speech---now did it strike you that he was one of those people who were well affected to the King?

Widdifon. The speech at the Castle Hill, do you mean?

Mr. Bower. Yes.

A. I had not sufficient reason to think he was otherwise.

Q. At other times, from his conversation, did you imagine him one of those persons who were well affected to the constitution and government?

A. I had never reason to suspect otherwise.

Q. Did you happen to know that there had been a communication between Davison and some persons in London, about sending arms to London?

A. I never knew it till I saw the letter published in the newspaper.

Q. When was that?

A. In the latter end of May last.

Q. Was that published at Sheffield?

A. Yes, in a newspaper, at Sheffield, and in a London paper, I believe.

Q. Till that time you never knew that there had been any communication between Sheffield and London about arms?

A. No.

Q. You never knew that the Convention had any other object but to petition Parliament for the alteration wanted?

Widdifon. Do you mean the English or Scotch Convention?

Mr. Bower. The Scotch.

A. I never understood they had any other object.

Q. You never understood that the Society had any other object in sending a delegate there, than for effecting a Reform in Parliament---that was what you understood?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you there when the thanks of the Sheffield Society were voted to Mr. Paine?

A. Yes, I was a member of it at the time.

Q. Were you present when the thanks were voted?

A. I cannot remember.

Q. Have you read Mr. Paine's books then?

A. Yes.

Q. Then I may take it you are of opinion, after reading those books, that the thanks of the society were given to the author of that work by people properly attached to the King and Constitution?

A. Yes.

Mr. Bower. Then I will not trouble you with any farther questions.

Henry Hill, (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Law,

Q. What are you?

A. A Cutler.

Q. You live at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you at any time a member of the Constitutional Society at that place?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you begin to be a member of it?

A. As soon as it was instituted, the second, or third night.

Q. In what year was it instituted?

A. I think in the year 1792, but cannot be positive.

Q. How long did you continue a member of that society?

A. Very near twelve months, as near as I can recollect.

Q. Do you remember during the time you was a member of that society, Mr. Yorke's visiting the society?

A. Yes, once.

Q. Do you remember when that was?

A. I think in the year 1792.

Q. Do you remember the meeting on the Castle-Hill?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. That was in last April.

Q. Do you remember the lecture on the Fast-day?

A. Yes.

Q. That was in February 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember after this lecture had been given on the Fast-day, any talk in the Town about arms?

A. Not till some time after that.

Q. Do you remember the meeting of the 7th of April, 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. About that time, was there any conversation prevalent in the town about providing yourselves with arms?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know Davison?

A. Yes.

Q. What is he?

A. A printer.

Q. He worked for Gale?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Yorke lodged at Gale's at one time, did he not?

A. I cannot tell, he did not at that time.

Q. Had you an application from Gale, to make any blades for pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. When?

A. In the beginning of April.

Q. Did he order any particular number?

A. No.

Q. What orders did he give you respecting the making of them?

Hill. Do you mean in the size and number?

Mr. Law. In both.

A. He brought a bayonet for me as a pattern to make them by, I made one in a bayonet shape, and Davison approved of it.

Q. Did he tell you where you were to get the iron, did you take it upon his credit, or your own?

A. Upon his credit.

Q. Who was to pay you for the workmanship?

A. Davison.

Q. Did that pike you made from that model, meet Davison's approbation?

A. He did approve of it.

Q. Did you carry it to Camage's?

A. It was in Camage's house he saw it.

Q. Did you ever meet Yorke at Camage's.

A. No, I was desired by Davison to go to Yorke,

Q. Did you go to him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you shew him any of those blades?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he say about them?

A. At the time I went to him, he had just received an account of Mr. Walker's trial, at Manchester, and he was so overjoyed, that he had very little to say then about the blade that I shewed him.

Q. Did he approve of it?

A. He had little to say, I do not know whether he said anything, he was so overjoyed.

Q. He was going off to Manchester then?

A. No.

Q. At any subsequent time, had you any conversation with Yorke, about those blades?

A. No.

Q. You said he was overjoyed, what was he overjoyed at?

A. At being liberated in that indictment with Mr. Walker, and Dunn punished; Dunn was put into prison.

Q. He said nothing upon that occasion respecting the pike?

A. Not as I remember now.

Q. Did

Q. Did you ever see him afterwards, with a pike properly mounted upon a shaft in his hand?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that, how long after?

A. It was sometime after, perhaps a fortnight or three weeks, I cannot justly tell when.

Q. Did he make any observations upon that pike, so prepared and mounted?

A. As little as possible, there were some young girls in the room that he was very fond of, he took it in his hand, and pretended to give it a push at one of them.

Q. Did Davison apply to you to make any greater number of pikes afterwards?

A. No, when he first gave me orders, I was to make so long as he employed me.

Q. To what number did you go on making?

A. About a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and thirty.

Q. Did Davison take up these and pay you for them?

A. He paid me for some of them.

Q. Had he the whole of that hundred and thirty?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you use to carry them to when you had made them?

A. Sometimes I took them to my own lodgings, sometimes to William Camage's.

Q. Did you deliver them to Davison at William Camage's?

A. If he was there I delivered them to him, if not I left them there.

Q. What pay had you for the workmanship?

A. Two-pence a piece.

Q. You saw Davison's letter to the prisoner?

A. I did.

Q. And read it?

A. I did not read it, but heard him read it.

Q. Did he say anything after he had read it, respecting any demand there might be from any other quarter for those pikes, London, or any where else?

A. There

A. There was some little conversation about it, but I cannot recollect what it was.

Q. Did he express any expectation of an order from any other place, for pikes of the same sort?

A. He said he did not know but there might be the same need for them in London, as there was in Sheffield.

Q. What did you understand to be the purpose for which they were prepared at Sheffield, and which might make them likewise wanted in London?

A. To act upon the defensive, in case they should be attacked by an unlawful set of men.

Q. This letter was to the prisoner at the bar, as Secretary of the Corresponding Society, I understand?

A. I do not know, I did not look at the direction.

Q. Did Davison say whom they expected would attack them?

A. The opposite party that were in Sheffield.

Q. But in London who was to attack them?

A. I cannot say any thing about that, there would be the same occasion in London I suppose as in Sheffield, if there should be the same necessity.

Q. That they should be attacked in London by the same, or similar people as in Sheffield?

A. If they should be attacked.

Q. How soon after your delivering these hundred and thirty pikes to Davison did he abscond—when did he leave Sheffield?

A. I think about the middle of May, if I can recollect right.

Henry Hill.

Cross Examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. You say you were a member of the Constitutional Society, from the time that they first came together?

A. Yes.

Q. I suppose you would not have been a member of that society, if you had not supposed it would have been faithful to the King?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Had

Q. Had you ever any intention in becoming a member of that society, to endeavour to displace the King from his throne?

A. No, I never heard a syllable of the sort at Sheffield.

Q. Do you suppose that was the view of any of those who were members of the society?

A. I never heard them declare it was, they were always friendly to the King for any thing that ever I saw by them; I never saw any thing to make me think the contrary.

Q. What reform was it they wished to have brought about?

A. A more equal representation in the Commons House of Parliament, as I understood it.

Q. Whose plan of reform in Parliament did they follow?

A. They followed the Duke of Richmond's plan, as I understood there were a number of letters distributed in Sheffield.

Q. Did you hear the members of this society say, that they formed themselves upon the Duke of Richmond's plan, that they followed his plan?

A. Yes, I have heard that said several times.

Q. There were some pikes prepared at Sheffield; what was the reason of your preparing them?

A. From the opposite party using such threats, even in the dead of the night, they have come where I lodged and insulted us of a night when we have been in bed, and have sworn they would pull down the House and burn it, calling us Jacobins, and calling the House Jacobin Hall, because the society used to meet there some divisions of it before I went there.

Q. And you had actual reason to expect danger from them?

A. Yes, by their threats, they have even shot into peoples' Houses, an armed set of people that made a parade in the street, and when going home at twelve o'clock at night, they shot under a person's door.

Q. This was an armed set of people at Sheffield?

A. They procured arms and paraded the street, and if there were any great victory gained.—

Q. Upon some occasion of this sort, they fired through or under one of the doors?

A. They did,

Q. Was

Q. Was it this sort of conduct, and those threats, that induced you first to prepare arms?

A. No other thing, no other view.

Q. Had you, or any of the people of Sheffield, a view of attacking the Magistracy of the Country with those arms you prepared?

A. No, far from it.

Q. Were they then meant merely for your own defence?

A. Merely for self defence.

Q. And for no other purpose?

A. For no other purpose, that ever I knew.

Henry Hill,

Re-examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Before you prepared these pikes for self defence, did it never occur to you to mention to Mr. Wilkinson, a Magistrate in the neighbourhood, that you were in need of this defence, if you should be attacked?

A. I do not know, that ever there was any complaint to him.

Q. Do you know Mr. Althorp?

A. No.

Q. Did you make a complaint of the danger which you was in, to any other person that you can name?

A. I do not know, that any complaint was made to a Magistrate.

Q. Or, to any other person that you can name?

A. No.

Q. You have said you were well affected to the King, and that you had no objection to the House of Lords, that you only wanted to effect a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present at the time thanks were voted to Mr. Paine for his works?

A. No.

Q. Do you know that a vote of that sort was come to by your society?

A. I do

A. I do not know any thing about it.

Q. You do not in fact know that any such vote was come to by your society?

A. No, I do not know any thing about it.

Robert Moody, (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. You are a joiner at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you a member of the Constitutional Society formed in that place?

A. I was not a regular member for above a twelvemonth before I was apprehended.

Q. Besides the general meetings of the Society, had they any meetings which were called district meetings, division meetings?

A. They had.

Q. Did you know a person of the name of Henry Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever see him attending at any of the meetings?

A. I have seen him at some of the public meetings.

Q. In what character did he act?

A. As a speaker and orator whenever I saw him.

Q. Did you ever see him act as Chairman?

A. Yes.

Q. When you say you saw him in the character of an orator, do you mean you saw him addressing the people?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. I saw him at a meeting at the Castle Hill, and one or two other meetings.

Q. How many people might be present at the Castle-Hill?

A. I think not less than ten thousand.

Q. Upon that occasion you heard Mr. Yorke speaking to the persons assembled there?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you near enough to hear and collect distinctly the substance of what he said?

A. No, I was at a distance.

Q. Did you stay till the business was concluded?

A. Yes.

Q. In what way did he go home to his apartment?

A. A coach was brought, the horses were taken out, and the populace drew him home.

Q. Do you remember a person of the name of Camage being there at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear him read any resolutions?

A. I saw him up reading something which I understood to be the resolutions, I afterwards saw some resolutions in the Sheffield paper.

Q. Was that news paper printed by Gale?

A. It was.

Q. Did Broomhead act as Secretary to that meeting?

A. He did.

Q. Did you after that see Camage upon the business at your shop?

A. Yes, he came one time and brought me four or five pike blades and spoke to me to make three dozen of handles.

Q. Who came with him when he came to you?

A. There was a person with him, I do not recollect who.

Q. Did the person who came with him bring any?

A. I do not know whether each had some, or one brought all the parcel.

Q. How many blades might Camage bring to you upon the whole to be fitted into Handles?

A. There were blades enough to answer the shafts he had ordered, three dozen.

Q. Did you learn from Camage what the purpose was for which those pikes were to be made?

A. No, I had no orders from him but just to make them, I did not enquire any thing about the purpose they were for.

Q. Who were the persons in general that were furnished with those pikes?

A. I never knew who they were for, but I understood by Camage, that a man of the name of Davison was to take them from

from him, or he had chaps for them so far as I should be paid ready money for them when they were done.

Q. Did you learn in the society from members of it for what purpose those pikes were made?

A. I did not know further than what I could collect and supposing from what I could collect, that they were for self defence.

Q. Self defence against whom?

A. Against people by whom they supposed they might be illegally attacked, for reports and only reports, as I know of, had said that they should be dispersed, they had met frequently in large meetings, and many of the opposite opinion said, that they should be dispersed, and how far they might influence a Justice of the peace, or any body to give them any authority, we supposed a little matter might have done it; they might have used some means which they supposed must be injurious to some of the parties, and they got these, as they wished to defend themselves in case they should be illegally attacked.

Q. Do you recollect any conversation about the time of any of your public meetings, with respect to the dragoons which were in the neighbourhood of Sheffield?

A. Yes, I remember so far that it was said——

Mr. Erskine. Said by whom?

Mr. Garrow. Was it said by Camage, or any of the members of the society?

A. I do not know by whom, but I have heard it said.——

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Heard it said, where, by what people?

A. Some people in Town, who I cannot tell; it was a report, it might be true, or might be false.

Mr. Garrow. To which of those meetings did the conversation about dragoons apply, was it to that upon the Castle-Hill?

Mr. Gibbs. He is asked to what meeting it applied, whether it applied to that at the Castle Hill!

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The question is not quite so correct as it should be, because the object is to see, to which meeting it applied.

Q. Previous

Q. Previous to the meeting at the Castle-Hill; and how long previous to that had there been any conversation about the dragoons?

A. I know of none before that.

Q. After that meeting at the Castle-Hill, did you hear from Camage, or from any other member of your society, any conversation respecting the dragoons in the neighbourhood of Sheffield?

A. Not from any of the Society, I do not know who it might be from that I heard it.

Q. Attend, do you mean to say, that you did not hear it from Camage?

A. I did not.

Q. Nor from Davison?

A. No.

Q. Nor from Broomhead?

A. No.

Q. Nor from Gale?

A. No.

Q. And in general, not from any member of the society?

A. Not from any one particular man.

Q. I do not ask you from any one particular man, were there any dragoons in the neighbourhood of Sheffield?

A. There were.

Q. When you were in Camage's shop at any time, did you see any leaden instrument, or model of an instrument?

A. I did.

Q. What was it?

A. It was what was called to me, in the privy Council, a night-cat; it was called when it was shewn to me a cat.

Q. What passed at the time that that cat so called, was shewn you in Camage's shop?

A. It was lying in the window, I took it up and examined it to see what it was, and asked what that was, he told me as he had been told I suppose, he said it was an instrument that was, or might be made use of to throw in the streets, it would lie pointed upwards which would prevent horses from travelling in the streets.

Q. Did

Q. Did it seem to you, that the instrument was well enough calculated to do what he stated it had, or might have done?

A. It did.

Q. At any way it presented a point?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did he state he had been told such an instrument had been used?

A. He never told me that any such instrument had been used.

Q. You said it was an instrument that had been, or might be used to throw in the streets, it would lie pointed upwards, which would prevent horses from travelling in the streets, did he mention any town in the course of that conversation?

A. No.

Q. Who was present besides Camage at the time that passed?

A. Nobody but Camage and me.

Q. At any time when you was present at Camage's shop, did you see any blades for pikes brought home by any body?

A. Yes, I once saw some brought in by a man.

Q. How many?

A. A few, perhaps, six or eight, I do not recollect.

Q. Did you see any pike complete at Camage's?

A. I never saw any but part of them that I made.

Q. That is to say your shafts and his blades made complete pikes?

A. Yes.

A pike brought into Court.

Q. Is that the sort of instrument that you made?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the shaft made of?

A. That is made of deal.

Q. That is not shod, is it?

A. No, nothing but the wood.

Q. Nor loaded, is it?

A. No, there is nothing in it.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Davison making any application to you with respect to letters?

A. Yes, I remember him asking me to let a letter or two be

directed to be left with me for him ; I told him he might if he pleased direct his correspondent to direct his letters to be left with me ; I do not know any thing more about it, for I never had any letters.

Q. That blade fits into the hoop at the top, and takes out occasionally, does it not ?

A. No, it is fast in.

Q. I do not know whether you knew of Davison's correspondence in London, upon the subject of pike-blades ?

A. No, I know that I did not know of any of his correspondents.

Q. You did not know of that letter that he wrote from Sheffield ?

A. No.

Q. How long had Davison come from Leeds to Sheffield ?

A. I suppose he might be two months, I suppose not more.

Robert Moody.

Cross-examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. If I understand you right, Davison had written some letters or letters which you knew nothing of, and if any answers were to come to those letters that he might have written, they were to come to your hands ?

A. Yes.

Q. None ever came to your hands ?

A. No.

Q. How long were you a member of this society ?

A. A year.

Q. Was you a member at the time that the delegate went ?

A. No.

Q. What was this cat, a large thing, or a small thing ?

A. A little thing, the tines might be an inch long, and it would stand an inch and a half high, or so, when it was down.

Q. Were any made from that model ; did you ever see one ?

A. No, I never heard of, or saw any.

Q. Was this thing concealed ?

A. No, it lay open in the shop.

Q. Then

Q. Then any body that had passed by might have seen it of course ?

A. Any body that had gone where he was at work; might have seen it.

Q. Did you ever hear any orders to make any from it; or see any made from it ?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever see a real one in your life ?

A. No.

Q. Did you frequent the society much ?

A. Not of a year back ; I had not before I was brought away.

Q. Brought away by what ?

A. In custody here.

Q. Up to the time that you was taken into custody, was any thing said in your hearing against the King ?

A. I never heard any thing said against the King.

Q. Was you yourself a friend to your King and the Constitution, as well as you understood it ?

A. Yes, I was, I believed him to be a good man, and it would be a crime to do any thing against a good man.

Q. Were the people with whom you associated, decent, well-behaved people ?

A. Yes, I always endeavoured to get into the company of those who were better informed than myself, in order that I might get improved.

Q. You say that it was about the month of April that they first began to see about these pikes ?

A. It was.

Q. Was there ever any thing said about pikes, before those threats of some people at Sheffield that frightened you ?

A. No, I never heard of any.

Q. And how many were made in consequence of the apprehension that some people had that they might be ill-used ?

A. There were very few made ; Carriage ordered of me three dozen, and I made two dozen, and nine or ten.

Q. Do you know of any others having been made besides those ?

A. Widdison made some handles I understood, but I understood that no pikes had been made.

Q. If you had understood they were made for the wicked purpose of making an attack upon the Government, would you have had any hand in making them?

A. I would not.

Robert Moody.

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. How early had you apprehensions of those attacks?

A. Only lately, in the course of a few months, before I was brought from Sheffield.

Q. Were there any pikes made that you know of, until Sheffield and its neighbourhood began to raise volunteer companies for the defence of the country?

A. Those were made before.

Q. How long before?

A. Perhaps two or three weeks; they were not made before they were talked of.

Q. You told me what you apprehended was, that a magistrate would lend his authority upon a little, to disperse your meeting, and to resist; that was your object—Did I take you right?

A. It might be so, or they might take upon themselves to disperse us without the authority of a magistrate.

Q. In either case those instruments were to be used for your defence?

A. If it was found necessary.

Q. About this cat, as it was called; supposing a number of these cats, not made of lead as the model was, but of iron, to have been thrown into the roads, I ask you, whether they were not most effectual instruments to have prevented any cavalry acting?

A. It appears so to me.

John Edwards (sworn).

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. What are you by business?

A. A silversmith.

Q. Were

Q. Were you a member of the London Corresponding Society, as it was called ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know the prisoner at the bar, Mr. Hardy ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know him in any character connected with the London Corresponding Society ?

A. I understood he was Secretary to the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Did you, at any time, receive any direction from the prisoner at the bar, to any person at Sheffield ?

A. I did receive a direction.

Q. To whom was that direction ?

A. I cannot recollect the name.

Q. Could you recollect the name, do you think, if you heard it ?

A. I have been told since I have been in custody the name, but I cannot swear that that is the name of the person.

Q. At what time was that direction furnished you, by Mr. Hardy to some person at Sheffield ; no matter who he is, or what his name is ?

A. I think in the month of April, I cannot be certain.

Q. What year ?

A. In 1794.

Q. For what purpose was that direction given to you by Mr. Hardy, and what was to be supplied in consequence of it ?

A. I went to Mr. Hardy, one day, at his house ; I asked him, whether he was going to send to Sheffield, I should be much obliged to him if he would inclose a few lines to some person at Sheffield, if they could inform me if there was any person there that could forge the blades of some pikes.

Q. Did the prisoner, in consequence of that application, furnish you with any direction to any person at Sheffield ?

A. Mr. Hardy read part of a letter to me, and gave me a direction to a person at Sheffield, wrote on a small piece of paper.

Q. What was the purport of that which he read to you, as part of the letter from Sheffield ?

A. I cannot

A. I cannot recollect the purport of it at present.

Q. The substance of it?

A. That a plan had been formed there to forge blades for the people at Sheffield?

Q. This was upon your application to him for a direction to somebody at Sheffield, to make blades for pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do in consequence of that?

A. I spoke to two or three of the members of the London Corresponding Society, and I understood that there were several persons who wished to furnish themselves with such things; and as such I took upon myself to go to Mr. Hardy, to know who I could send to, at Sheffield, to get them; and a meeting was to have taken place on the Friday before Mr. Hardy was taken up.

Q. Where was that meeting to have taken place, on the Friday before the prisoner was apprehended?

A. At the Parrot, in Green Harbour Court, in the Old-Bailey.

Q. For what purpose?

A. They were to have met there; and any person that put down the money, might have them; the blades were to be sent up from Sheffield to London.

Q. What sum of money was to be put down by those who chose to have blades, for pikes, from Sheffield?

A. One shilling, I understood.

Q. Was that conversation at any division meeting of the London Corresponding Society?

A. No.

Q. Was this communication with the prisoner mentioned at any division meeting?

A. No.

Q. What number did you belong to?

A. No. 29.

Q. Was you present at any time at No. 22?

A. Yes, I think I have been.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Gosling?

A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know another person of the name of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. A person of the name of Baxter?

A. Yes.

Q. Spence?

A. Yes.

Q. What division was Baxter delegate for?

A. I do not know.

Q. Was he a delegate to any of the Committees of the Corresponding Society?

A. He was.

Q. Was Spence?

A. He was.

Q. Was this plan of sending to Sheffield for pike blades, mentioned to any of those persons?

A. I mentioned it to Baxter, to Spence, and to Hillier.

Q. Do you know of any place in the Borough of Southwark, where there was any meeting connected with this subject?

A. I have heard there was a place.

Q. Did you ever hear from Mr. Hardy, or any member of the London Corresponding Society, that there was such a place?

A. I heard there was a place in the Borough.

Q. Of what sort, and for what purpose?

A. A place where they met to learn the exercise.

Q. What exercise?

A. To learn the use of the musket.

Q. Was there any subscription at that place in the Borough, where the use of the musket was to be learned, for any and what purpose?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did you learn from any of the members of that society that there was?

A. Never.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Higgins?

A. Yes.

Q. And a person of the name of Godwin?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they members of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you learn from them, or from either of them, whether there was any society of the sort you have just mentioned?

A. I have understood, from Godwin, that there was a society in the Borough, but I was never there.

Q. You learned then, from this man, who was a member of the London Corresponding Society, that there was a place in the Borough where they learned the use of the musket?

A. He told me so.

Q. Did you learn from him, whether he belonged to it, or not?

A. No.

Q. Did you learn from him, or from any other member of the London Corresponding Society, where that society, for learning the use of the musket, met?

A. No.

Q. Do you know a place, called Bandy Leg Walk?

A. I have heard of it, but I never was there.

Q. Have you heard of that place from Hillier, Baxter, Spence, or Higgins, whom you have stated to be Members of the Corresponding Society?

A. I did not hear where it was.

Q. Did you know a person, called Franklow?

A. I have heard of him.

Q. Was he a member of the society?

A. I believe he was; but he was not a member of the division I belonged to.

Q. Do you know where Franklow lived?

A. I have known, since I have been in custody, that he lived at Lambeth, but I did not know before.

Mr. Erskine. Does your Lordship take it, that what was said by Higgins or Hillier is evidence?

Mr. Garrow. I submit it is evidence.

Mr. Erskine. I submit to the Court, that it is not evidence; I shall not argue it.

Mr.

Mr. Garrow. Nor shall I.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I consider that point to have been determined by the majority of the Judges.

Mr. Garrow. Did you know of any association at Lambeth?

A. I have heard of it.

Q. Did you hear of that from Franklow?

A. I never saw him, till I saw him in the Privy Council Chamber.

Q. Did you ever hear of it, from any member of that association?

A. I remember something was mentioned of it soon after I went to the division; something was said about it, but by whom I cannot tell.

Q. What was stated at that meeting of the division, at which there was conversation about Franklow's association?

A. I understood that there was a meeting, known by the name of the Lambeth Loyal Association; that was all I understood about it.

Q. Did you hear at that, or any other meeting of the society, of what number that meeting at Franklow's was composed;—how many persons attended it?

A. I never knew how many persons attended it; I understood that the number, when it was completed, was to be sixty.

Q. You understood, at that meeting of the division, that it was to be sixty, when full?

A. Yes.

Q. For what purpose did that association meet?

A. That I cannot tell, for I was never there.

Q. For what purpose was it stated, in the London Corresponding Society, at the division meeting, that they met?

A. I never heard any thing stated of what was the purpose of their meeting.

Q. Did you ever hear that that society, or any other division of the London Corresponding Society, had arms?

A. I never heard any thing mentioned of that society, but what I have just now stated.

Q. What

Q. What was this association at Franklow's for?

A. I could not tell, for nothing of the kind was ever mentioned.

Q. Did you hear from any body, in any of the meetings of the Corresponding Society, in what dress those persons who attended Franklow's meeting assembled?

A. No; I did not hear.

Q. Do you know in what dress they assembled?

A. They had a blue coat, and red collar; I think I saw Franklow in his dress.

Q. Was there any other part of the dress that was regimental, or was like regimental?

A. White waistcoat and breeches.

Q. In that dress you saw Franklow himself?

A. Yes; once.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. When was it you saw Franklow so dressed?

A. It was at the dinner, at the Globe Tavern.

Mr. Garrow. When was that dinner?

A. On the 20th of January.

Q. The Anniversary Dinner?

A. Yes.

Q. At that dinner Franklow appeared in the dress that you have mentioned?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of any meeting of any number of persons of the Corresponding Society, at the Three Tuns, at Snow-Hill?

A. The division 22, used to meet there.

Q. Do you know of any proposal in the Corresponding Society, for instructing that division in the use of arms?

A. No; I cannot say I recollect any.

Q. Do you know of any meeting of any number of persons, for that purpose, at the Three Tuns, on Snow-Hill, to the number of sixteen, or thereabouts?

A. Yes; I recollect there was one evening about sixteen persons met.

Q. Was

Q. Was you one?

A. I was.

Q. What was the purpose of that meeting?

A. I had spoke to several of the members myself, before that meeting took place, for them to meet there; and, if they thought proper, to form an Association like that of the Lambeth Association, but no person would.

Q. No person would agree to that proposal?

A. No.

Q. Were those sixteen members of the division, No. 22?

A. I do not know what divisions they were members of; they were of several divisions, I believe.

Q. When was it that that meeting was held at the Three Tuns, Snow-Hill?

A. I cannot recollect when it was.

Q. Before or after the Anniversary Dinner?

A. Before that a long while.

Q. In the London Corresponding Society was there any committee, which was called the Secret Committee, for dispatch of business?

A. I understood there was.

Q. Did you understand, from any of the members of the society, that there was?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Sixteen people met; what was done there?

A. Nothing at all.

Mr. Garrow. At that meeting, where sixteen were present, what was proposed by any body?

A. I only proposed the forming an association, similar to that of Franklow's, as I mentioned, and no person there would join in it.

Q. In what manner was the Secret Committee of the society chosen?

A. I cannot tell in what manner they were chosen; I only heard it in the division.

Q. Did

Q. Did you, in that division, hear of the appointment of any Secret Committee, which was afterwards dissolved?

A. This was the same committee, the Secret Committee; that I heard mention of in the division.

Q. Was that Secret Committee supplied by any new committee?

A. I understood it was; but that committee that was dissolved had full powers to chuse another.

Q. What was the reason, as it was stated in the division meetings, for dissolving that Secret Committee which had existed, and giving full powers to that Secret Committee to choose a new one?

A. It was thought that some person had given information of that committee having been chosen.

Q. Was that person who was suspected, a member of the society?

A. He was a member, I understood, of the General Committee.

Q. What was his name?

A. Lynham.

Q. Did you ever know who the persons were that constituted that new committee?

A. The persons that they chose on the committee there, were five persons; I do not know that I could recollect all their names.

Q. Should you know their names, if they were stated to you?

A. I think I should.

Q. Do you know John Martin, an Attorney?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he one?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know John Thelwall?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he one?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know Baxter?

A. Yes; he was one.

Q. Moore?

Q. Moore?

A. He was one.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Hodgson, and another of the name of Lovett?

A. I cannot be certain which of those two it was.

Q. You know those two persons?

A. I know them both.

Q. Was one or the other a member of this Secret Committee?

A. He was.

Q. Where did this Secret Committee meet, as you learned in the meetings of the Corresponding Society?

A. I do not know.

Q. At what sort of places did they meet; at the ordinary places of meeting of the general meetings of the society, or in private houses?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do not you know, from the information of the society?

A. I understood that they met at their own houses.

Q. Did you understand that in the society?

A. No; I was told by a person not in the society.

Q. What was the office of this Secret Committee; what had they to do?

A. To receive any letters that were sent.

Q. And what were they to do with them, when they had received them?

A. That was all left to them; it was kept a secret from the society.

Q. Did they communicate to the society, occasionally, such correspondence as came to them?

A. At times they used to have letters read in the division.

Q. Was it left to them to use their discretion about that?

A. I understood so.

Q. Was you a delegate at any time of the society?

A. I was.

Q. In the character of a delegate was you a member of the General Committee?

A. I attended.

A. I attended the General Committee about six times.

Q. You was not a member of the Secret Committee?

A. No.

Q. Do I understand you right, that the correspondence was committed to the Secret Committee, and left with them, whether it should be brought before the General Committee, or the society at large at their discretion?

A. It is impossible for me to answer that, because it all remained a secret to themselves.

Q. Have you any reason to know from any of the proceedings of the society, that correspondences which did find their way to the Secret Committee, were not communicated either to the General Committee, or to the society at large?

A. That I cannot tell.

Q. Where did the General Committee at first meet?

A. In Compton street.

Q. At number 3, the coffee room?

A. I think it was number three.

Q. Was you ever present at Compton-street?

A. Sometimes I have been there.

Q. How often might you be there?

A. Twice.

Q. Was it any part of the business of the General Committee of delegates that met at Compton-street to receive the return of new members?

A. Always from every delegate.

Q. Did it happen that at all those meetings you attended, there were returns of new members?

A. When a delegate attended, the returns were made at a General Committee.

Q. From Compton-street, were the meetings of the Committee transferred to any other place?

A. To Beaufort-buildings.

Q. To whose house?

A. Mr. Thelwall's.

Q. No. 2, Beaufort Buildings?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect at the first meeting of the committee which you attended, any deputation attending to report from any other society?

A. No, I cannot recollect that.

Q. Do you know from any thing that passed at any of the meetings of this Society at large, that your society was in correspondence, and co-operation with the Constitutional Society?

A. No, not at that time, I understood on the Thursday night following, that a committee of correspondence was appointed by the Constitutional Society of six persons, and I also understood, that a deputation had been appointed to the Society for Constitutional information. I understood that the Corresponding Society deputed five persons to attend a meeting of the Constitutional Society—before I went to the committee, there was nothing mentioned of it the first night as I understood—On the second night I understood they had appointed a committee of six persons, and there were only five persons of the Corresponding Society chose for the deputation, and then they chose another person to add to them, to make up the number.

Q. Were you present at any time, when the deputation from your society reported, that the Constitutional Society appointed six persons, the Corresponding having appointed five, they chose one more after, to make up the six, then the twelve I suppose met?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you present at any time when a report was made by any of the members of that Committee of Conference to the society at large, or the General Committee. You have said you know Hodgson, Lovett, Thelwall, Baxter, and Moore?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they the persons who were deputed from your society, to correspond with the Constitutional Society?

A. I was not present, when the deputation was appointed.

Q. Do you recollect any debate with respect to yourself, and your age, at the time that this business of delegates was considered?

A. Yes, I recollect it.

Q. Who

Q. Who were the persons, do you recollect, that took part in that debate?

A. Several persons spoke, and most of them were strangers to me at that time, and I did not know who they were, Mr. Thelwall was one that spoke.

Q. Was Baxter one who spoke in that debate?

A. At the committee, not in the division.

Q. Do you remember being at the General Committee, when a business respecting a gentleman of the name of Eaton was taken into consideration?

A. I remember there was a debate one night, respecting a medal that had been struck, that was to be presented to the Jurymen that acquitted Mr. Eaton.

Q. Was the medal to be presented to any other persons except the Jury who had acquitted Mr. Eaton?

A. I do not know, I only understood to the twelve Jurymen who had acquitted him.

Q. Acquitted him, upon what occasion?

A. When he was tried at the bar for a libel I think, and was found not guilty.

Q. Do you remember anything of a meeting at Chalk Farm, in the neighbourhood of this town?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the proceedings in the society as far as came to your knowledge, preparatory to that meeting?

A. I do not know, I was only appointed to the committee one night before that, and that was the night when the debate took place respecting myself, and I heard nothing at all but respecting that.

Q. Was you present at the meeting at Chalk Farm?

A. I was there.

Q. Where did you first go to—did you go to Chalk Farm, or any other place first?

A. I went to Store-street, Tottenham Court Road.

Q. And from thence to what place?

A. To Chalk Farm.

Q. At what time did you arrive at Chalk Farm?

A. I can-

A. I cannot recollect what time, it was in the afternoon.

Q. Was that meeting at Chalk Farm, one that had been appointed in consequence of any proceedings of the Corresponding Society?

A. I do not know.

Q. You did not know before you went there?

A. No.

Q. You went there a delegate of the Corresponding Society; if I understand you right?

A. Yes, I had been made a delegate only one week before.

Q. Had you any card, or ticket for your admission to Chalk Farm?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you procure that?

A. I had it of the committee of the Corresponding Society.

Q. When, and where procured?

A. By the committee of the Corresponding Society at Compton-street.

Q. When?

A. On the Thursday night preceeding the meeting at Chalk Farm.

Q. What was the occasion of your going to Store-street, rather than Chalk Farm at first?

A. I understood there was a room engaged in Store-street, it was advertized that the meeting was to be there.

Q. There you went with your ticket as I understand you, previously procured from the Committee?

A. Yes.

Q. When you come to Store-street, what led you to Chalk Farm?

A. I understood Justice Addington had been there, and forbid the man to let us have the room.

Q. Then you went to Chalk Farm?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of persons might there be assembled at Chalk Farm?

A. I suppose upwards of two thousand?

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Q. Was

Q. Was there any ceremony upon your introduction there?

A. There was a person stood at the door, just to take the tickets.

One of the Jury. Was it an enclosure, or what?

A. It was a kind of trap-ball green, before a long room.

Mr. Garrow. Those tickets (which the person at the door was to take, were those which you had received from the committee of the Corresponding Society, if I take you right?

A. Yes.

Q. What was done with the ticket delivered to the person at the door?

A. They tore one half off, the other half you kept yourself.

Q. What were you to do with the other half?

A. To put the other half in your hat.

Q. When you were admitted, be so good as state the proceedings that took place, who were the persons that were there, and what passed?

A. There were some letters read.

Q. Did you find there any persons of the Corresponding Society?

A. Yes, several persons there.

Q. Any that you knew, or that you have named?

A. Yes, there were Moore, Hodgson, and Thelwall.

Q. Was there any person who took the chair at that meeting?

A. Yes, John Lovett.

Q. Name some more that were there of the Corresponding Society, with whom you was acquainted?

A. Richter was there, and there were most of the members of the committee.

Q. Do you know Mr. Hardy?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he there?

A. I do not know whether he was there or not, for I was up in the long room all the time.

Q. After you were admitted into the ground, did any person take the chair?

A. Mr.

A. Mr. Lovett took the chair soon after I was in the ground; there were two ladies I was acquainted with; we went up into the long room, and were locked in, therefore I could not see so well.

Q. Did you hear what was read, or said, so as to be able to give any account of it, if not I will not pursue it?

A. I cannot give any account of what was said.

Q. Was you present afterwards at any meeting of the General Committee, or any other committee of the London Corresponding Society at which the proceedings at Chalk Farm were reported?

A. I do not recollect ever hearing the proceedings at Chalk Farm being reported at a committee.

Q. Not in the society?

A. No, because most of the members heard it there.

Q. Do you know a place called Robins's Coffee-house, in Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that a place at which any of the meetings of the society were held?

A. Division, No. 29, met there.

Q. Did you use to attend the meetings of that division occasionally?

A. I did, I was a member of that division.

Q. Be so good as to look at this paper, and tell me whether you ever saw any of these sort of papers distributed at Robins's Coffee-house, and were any of them delivered to you by any of the persons you have named?

A. I saw some, but not so large as this, and of a different date.

Q. Was it the same subject, did it contain the same expressions?

Mr. Erskine. I must object to that question.

Mr. Garrow. I must insist upon the question.

Mr. Erskine. I will state my objection; the witness is asked whether he saw that paper, or any paper similar to it?

Mr. Garrow. That is not the question, nor any thing like it.

Mr. Erskine. State the question then.

Mr. Garrow. The question I put was this; whether you had received a similar paper to that at Robins's Coffee-House? To which you answer,—Not of that size.

A. Not at Robins's Coffee-House.

Q. Did you ever receive a paper of that sort any where?

A. Of a different date.

Q. Of the same contents as that paper?

A. Yes; one; but not so large.

Q. Where did you receive that, and from whom?

A. From a person of the name of Baxter.

Q. From that Baxter whom you have named, as a member of the London Corresponding Society?

Mr. Erskine. The witness says, the paper delivered by Baxter was not the same paper as this; and that it was of a different date.—Does your Lordship think the witnesses saying, he believes the contents of this to be the same, makes this paper evidence?

Mr. Garrow. I submit that, if I propose to read a passage from Locke, and I shew the witness an octavo edition of Locke, and ask him whether he had read the passage in a duodecimo edition of the same author, that it is sufficient evidence, if he has, to let me in to read it.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. In order to come at that evidence, you would be obliged to lay before the Court some evidence, that this which you offered was an edition of Mr. Locke's work.—The question is, whether you have gone far enough yet?

Mr. Erskine. Exactly so.

Mr. Garrow. I will ask a few more questions.—You say this paper is not of the same size as the paper you received from Baxter?

A. No.

Q. What is the date of this paper?

A. Tuesday, the first of April.

Q. Did you, at any time, receive a paper from Baxter, of the same contents as that, except the date of the 30th of January, upon a paper of a different size?

Mr. Erskine. What did you do with that paper?

A. It was destroyed before I was taken into custody.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. That paper being destroyed, the witness will give such account of it as he can; he may either refresh his memory by looking at this paper, or, if he can venture

to say, that this contains in it the substance of the other, it may be received, upon that account, as the best evidence; either way, it comes to the same thing, with regard to you, Mr. Erskine, and therefore, I think, it is not worth mooted.

Mr. Erskine. The paper was fabricated by the spies who support the prosecution.

Mr. Attorney General. You shall not say that, till you prove it.

Mr. Erskine. I shall prove it.

Mr. Attorney General. Till you prove that, you ought not to say it; it is a charge that ought not to be made.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If there is any point between you which should be heard, the appeal, to be sure, must be made to the Court.

Mr. Garrow. I wish to God it was; we should save much time and trouble.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. A little indulgence, on both sides, would save much time and trouble.

Mr. Attorney General. When a paper is produced, which your Lordships hold to be legal evidence to be read, it must not, and shall not be stated in this Court, unless it is proved, that the paper is fabricated by the spies who carry on the prosecution.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I hope nothing of that kind has been said, for it was an improper thing to be said; and, if it dropt from any body, it was an inadvertent thing.

For

The Benefit of JOHN BULL.

At the

FEDERATION THEATRE, in EQUALITY-SQUARE,

On Thursday, the 1st of April, 1791,

Will be performed,

A new and entertaining Farce, called

LA GUILLOTINE;

OR,

GEORGE'S HEAD IN THE BASKET!

U 3

Dramatis

Dramatis Personæ.

Numpy the Third, by Mr. GWELP,
(Being the last time of his appearing in that character.)

Prince of Leeks, by Mr. GWELP, Junior.

Duke of Dice, by Mr. FREDDY, (from Ofnaburg.)

Duke of Jordan, by Mr. WILLIAM HENRY FLOGGER,
(From the Creolian Theatre.)

Uncle Toby, Mr. RICHMOND.

Grand Inquisitor, Mr. PENSIONER REEVES.

Don Quixote, Knight of the Dagger,

By Mr. EDMUND CALUMNY.

And Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Mr. BILLY TAXLIGHT.

Municipal Officers, National Guards, &c.

By Citizens XOF, NADIREHS, YERG, ENIKSRE, &c.

**Banditti, Assassins, Cut Throats, and Wholesale Dealers in
Blood, by THE EMPRESS OF RUFFIANS, THE EMPEROR
OF HARM-ANY, THING OF PRUSSIA, PRINCE OF S. CASH-
HELL, &c.**

Between the Acts;

A New Song, called "Twenty more, kill them!"

By BOBADIL BRUNSWICK.

Fight Rope Dancing, from the Lamp-Post,

By Messrs. CANTEBURY, YORK, DURHAM, &c.

In the Course of the Evening will be sung, in Full Chorus,

CA IRA.

AND

BOB SHAVE GREAT GEORGE OUR — !

The whole to conclude with

A GRAND DECAPITATION

OF

PLACEMEN, PENSIONERS, AND GERMAN LEECHES.

Admittance, Three-pence each Person.

Vive la Liberté ! Vive la République !

Mrs. Garrow:

Mr. Garrow. You say you received one of these papers, of a different date?

A. Yes; dated the 30th of January.

Q. Was that the 30th of January preceding?

A. Yes.

Q. At what time did you receive the paper you had?

A. I do not recollect when it was; it was some time ago.

Q. Where did you receive it?

A. I received it from Baxter, about three months before January.

Q. Three months before January?

A. It was in October or November, I think, I received it.

Q. Then, supposing it to have been for some exhibition, it was delivered to you three months before the date, at which the thing was to take place?

A. I rather think it was three months, or thereabouts.

Q. After the meeting at Chalk Farm, did you go to Compton-street?

A. I did, in the evening.

Q. What connexion had the place in Compton-street with the society?

A. It was where the division used to meet at the Coffee-Room.

Q. Did you sup there?

A. I did.

Q. How late did you stay?

A. Not very late; I went away about eleven o'clock.

Q. Who were the persons that were present?

A. A great number of persons were present.

Q. Were they members?

A. I understood most were that came from Chalk Farm.

Q. Was Mr. Thelwall one?

A. He was.

Q. Did you, in any of the meetings of the society, or its committees, receive any information with respect to arming, in any way, except those that you have told us about pikes, and Franklow's Association?

A. Never; not in any of the divisions.

Q. Had you from any of the members of the society?

A. I never had.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Ashly?

A. I do.

Q. Was he a member of either of the societies?

A. He was.

Q. Had you any information from Ashly, about arming with pikes?

A. I never had.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Joyce?

A. I have seen him two or three times.

Q. Do you remember any meeting at the Crown and Anchor, upon the second of May, in the present year?

A. I was there.

Q. In what manner were you admitted?

A. By a ticket.

Q. By whom was that ticket furnished to you?

A. Mr. Joyce.

Q. Who called him out of the room to give you a ticket?

A. Mr. Thelwall.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Was that a dinner?

A. The Anniversary Dinner of the Constitutional Society.

Q. You was present at the dinner at the Globe Tavern likewise?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any printed paper being distributed at that dinner, at the Globe Tavern?

A. After dinner the address that had been read in the morning, was printed, and distributed about.

Q. Where had that address been read in the morning?

A. At the Globe Tavern, before dinner.

Q. After dinner that was distributed about, and read?

A. Not read after dinner; it had been read before dinner.

Q. Was there any conversation at that meeting, with respect to any troops; any Hessian troops, for instance.

A. I do not recollect any.

Q. I pass

Q. I pass that, and go to the dinner, on the second of May, at the Crown and Anchor; give us some account of the manner in which that festival was conducted; before I go to that, I would just ask you as to the dinner at the Globe Tavern; you do not recollect the circumstance of any paper, respecting the Hessian troops, there, do you?

A. I do not recollect any.

Q. Do you recollect any paper that respected the different parties, as they are called, in this country; the *Ins* and *Outs*, as they are called there?

A. Not there.

Q. Where then?

A. I saw one of those papers at the Three Tuns, on Snow-Hill.

Q. At a division meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. I do not recollect when it was.

Q. Before or after the 20th of January?

A. I think it was after the 20th of January.

Q. You was not present at Robins's Coffee-House, when Mr. Yorke made a speech there?

A. I was not.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Hodgson?

A. Hodgson, the Author, I know.

Q. Did you ever receive any printed paper from Hodgson, the Printer, in Bell-Yard, or Lovett?

A. No; I never did.

Q. Have you been present, at any time, at Mr. Thelwall's Lecture, in Beaufort Buildings?

A. Yes; I have been.

Q. Was it permitted to any body to take notes of his Lecture?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did it ever happen to you to be present, when any persons that were doing so, were interrupted?

No; I never was.

Q. You have told us of your application to Mr. Hardy, on the

the subject of pikes; what money was to be paid down for those pikes?

A. One shilling.

Q. What was that to include?

A. To be sent to Sheffield for the blade.

Q. When the blades were finished, what was to be done then?

A. Any person might put in the shafts that wanted them.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Gosling?

A. Yes; I do know him.

Q. And another person of the name of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any conversation, at any time, or any instructions from Gosling, upon the subject of pikes?

A. No; I never had instructions from Gosling.

Q. Was he a member of the society?

A. I believe he was; Gosling and Hillier came to my father's house on the Monday Hardy was taken into custody.

Q. Was any meeting appointed to take place before, respecting pikes?

A. It was appointed for the Friday before Mr. Hardy was taken up; it was afterwards postponed for another week.

Q. What was the purpose of that meeting that was to have been held on the Friday?

A. As many persons as chose were to have put down their money for pikes.

Q. Where was that meeting to have been held?

A. In Green Harbour Court.

Q. Was that one of the houses where the meetings of the divisions had been held?

A. They had been held there; but it was to be a general meeting then.

Q. That meeting was postponed, and, in the interim, on the Monday, they came to you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it before you knew of Hardy's being apprehended, or afterwards, that they came to you?

A. They

A. They came to me before I knew Mr. Hardy was apprehended; for while they were in the house, I was informed of it by a person who came there.

Q. What was the sum to be deposited by each member?

A. One shilling.

Q. What was to be furnished for that?

A. A blade, and nothing else.

Q. Where were they to procure the residue to make the pike an effectual instrument?

A. They were to get that where they thought proper.

Q. While they were with you, information came that Mr. Hardy was apprehended?

A. Yes.

Q. What sort of wood were the shafts to be made of?

A. I do not know; fir was recommended in the letter, I think.

Q. In consequence of that recommendation, were any others procured?

A. Yes, I had one.

Q. Where did you get that?

A. I made that myself.

Q. Was any observation made upon it?

A. Not that I recollect.

Q. We saw one here just now, in which the blade was fixed to the shaft; was yours of that construction?

A. No.

Q. Look at that; is that the shaft of your's?

A. Yes.

Q. The shaft only?

A. The shaft only.

Q. Is the blade there?

A. No, the blade was made to screw into the top.

Q. What is become of the blade of your's?

A. Destroyed.

Q. When?

A. Before I was taken into custody.

Q. How long before?

A. On the Wednesday before.

Q. Was it before or after you was informed that Hardy was taken into custody?

A. After I was informed that Hardy was taken into custody.

Q. How happened that to be destroyed? by whose advice?

A. By nobody's.

Q. Why did you destroy it?

A. Because I was afraid of its being found upon me.

Q. Do you know of any other representation by magic lantern, or other, that was used as connected with this subject?

A. I had a magic lantern of my own, which I produced to shew Mr. Gosling.

Q. You mean Gosling, one of the members?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any connection between that entertaining apparatus, and the objects of your society?

A. No.

Q. What was it to represent?

A. It was the property of Monf. Chauvelin; there was the destruction of the Bastille and beheading of the Governor painted on it.

Q. Was that your property?

A. Yes, it is in the messenger's house now.

Q. You said you knew a person of the name of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether he had any pike?

A. I understood he had,

Q. Was that of the same construction as your's, or of a different construction?

A. It was of a different one.

Q. Was he one of the persons at your house to whom you shewed your pike the day of Hardy's apprehension?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know where Hillier's pike had been constructed?

A. I do not.

John Edwards.

Cross-examined by Mr. Erskine.

Q. How long before you was apprehended was you a member of this Corresponding Society?

A. I became a member of the Corresponding Society last July was a twelvemonth.

Q. You said you made a pike for yourself; what trade are you?

A. A silversmith.

Q. When did you make that pike for yourself?

A. I think it was in March.

Q. What year?

A. 1794.

Q. How long had you been in the society at the time you made that pike?

A. From July 1793.

Q. For what purpose did you make it?

A. I had heard a person of the name of Yorke that had just mentioned, one night in company where I was, after one of the divisions broke up at Robins's Coffee-house, that they had pikes at Sheffield, and I made that.

Q. But hearing that there were pikes at Sheffield, why should that induce you to make a pike for yourself; you must have had some motive in you own mind for it?

A. I understood some of the members were providing themselves with arms, and I made that for myself.

Q. For what purpose?

A. In case there should be any illegal dispersion of the meetings.

Mr. Erskine. Had you heard of any threats having been made use of at Sheffield?

A. No, I had not; but it was just at the time the Hessian troops were landed without the consent of the Parliament.

Q. You have the misfortune to be in the custody of a messenger, but it does not follow that you have been guilty of any offence?

A. That should be the case, or I should not have been taken up by a warrant for treasonable practices.

Q. Had you any intention of making use of that pike against the government of the country?

A. Not against the government of the country.

Q. No such intention at all?

A. None.

Q. When you went to Mr. Hardy, what did you go for?

A. I asked

Q. I asked him if he was going to send to Sheffield, and would inclose a few lines for me to some person at Sheffield, that could forge the blades for some pikes, that several members of the society wished to have them.

Q. Did you speak to any members of the society that wanted them?

A. Not before.

Q. Did you, after that, speak to some members of the society that did want them?

A. Several spoke to me about them.

Q. Did you understand them, that they wanted them for the same reason as you wanted them?

A. I understood so.

Q. From any thing that passed between you and any of the members of the London Corresponding Society, for whom you were disposed, through Mr. Hardy's assistance, to get directions to persons at Sheffield, had you any reason to believe that they wanted the pikes for a rebellion against the government and magistracy of the land?

A. Not for a rebellion against the government; not against any legal power that might be sent to disperse them.

Q. But if you were attacked without the authority which the law confers upon magistrates, you thought you had a right to defend yourselves?

A. Yes, just so.

Q. You thought very right; you appear to have given a very fair account; I believe that in consequence of that you made a proposition in one of the divisions where sixteen persons were present?

A. That was long before I had the direction from Mr. Hardy.

Q. What was the reason of your making the proposition at that time?

A. Because there had been great opposition shewn to the meetings before that time.

Q. Had any insults been offered to any of the members?

A. There was, at a division I was present at in Rotherhithe, two of the Police officers came in, they wanted to know what they wanted; they said they came to see if there were any men fit for his Majesty's service.

Q. Were

Q. Were you at that time doing any thing, or were the people who were there, doing any thing that your own consciences suggested to you to be wrong?

Mr. Attorney-General. Is that a question to be asked?

Mr. Erskine. I say it is subject to his Lordship's opinion.

Mr. Attorney-General. Be so good to say why?

Mr. Erskine. I should be very glad to hear why it is not.

Mr. Attorney-General. (They may do acts their own consciences may think right; but that does not make them legal.

Mr. Erskine. That is the reason I shall put the question that way; a man may know what his conscience is, though he may not know what the law is.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Being upon a cross-examination, I think he may be asked whether he at the time apprehended that the thing which he was doing was lawful or unlawful—whether it was so, or not, will not depend upon his apprehension, but it may go to the general evidence he gives—it may operate one way or other—if he has done an illegal thing, but innocently, if he is brought as a witness, he may be asked to that; what the effect of it will be, I do not know.

A. At the very time that the people came in to disperse us, we were reading the address from Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond at the Thatched House tavern.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Was it more or less legal upon that account?

Mr. Erskine. Certainly not.

Mr. Attorney-General. So far, that if the conscience of the witness is to decide it, I cannot help thinking it may be more or less legal.

Mr. Erskine. I wish it to be understood I am no advocate for the conscience of the Duke of Richmond nor Mr. Pitt.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. It is certainly true; but this is rather too grave an occasion for such an observation.

Mr. Attorney-General. It is not a proper occasion for this frippery.

Mr. Erskine. I say that is not a proper expression.

Mr. Attorney-General. I will repeat it.

Mr. Erskine. You will not repeat it any where else.

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The Gentlemen I hope will recollect that they are upon a solemn trial.

Mr. Erskine. I think it is really hard upon me upon this solemn trial, that I should be eternally assailed by these Gentlemen, when I have the arduous task of extracting the truth from these witnesses.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If any person were disposed (which I dare say no one is) to give you any interruption, it would be my duty to preserve order, and take care you should be permitted to go on in your business without interruption; but it is impossible the cause can go on, unless the Gentlemen at the bar will a little understand one another, and by mutual forbearance, assist one another—you are a little too apt to break out, and I think there has been a little inclination sometimes to observe more upon that than the occasion calls for.

Mr. Attorney General. As far as came from me, I am sorry for it.

Mr. Erskine. I will repeat the question, if I have your Lordship's liberty to put it, the objection being over-ruled.—At the time you were opposed in this manner, were you doing any thing which in your apprehension, or your mind, was wrong?

A. I was not.

Q. From any thing that you saw or heard from those persons with whom you associated, did you collect that they intended to make a different use of the pikes than that for which you had made your own?

A. I did not.

Q. You said you made a proposition which was negatived by the Committee, or whoever it was, when sixteen persons were present; what was the proposition you made?

A. It was about forming another Society upon the same principle as that at Lambeth, but no person would second it.

Q. When you made that proposition to have a Society upon the same footing as that at Lambeth, what did you conceive that Society to be?

A. It bore the name of the Loyal Lambeth Association, that was the same as that I meant to form in case there should be any illegal dispersion of the meetings.

Q. If

Q. If you had understood that Lambeth Association to have been of persons disposed to oppose the magistracy of the country, should you have made that proposition?

A. I should not.

Q. And yet, though you made that proposition, it was not assented to?

A. No.

Q. Do you remember the prisoner saying any thing about that?

A. No; I do not remember his saying any thing of it.

Q. Have you seen him at any of those meetings?

A. Yes, at my division several times.

Q. How did he deport himself?

A. In a very quiet manner; I never heard him speak in any of the divisions not once.

Q. Did he appear to be a man of a turbulent disposition?

A. No, quite a different man.

Q. Do you recollect any expressions he has used in any of the meetings that led you to think him a quiet, well-meaning man?

A. I always understood he was so; I never heard him make use of an improper expression since I was in the society.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Hardy make any proposition for arms or pikes?

A. Never.

Q. Was you ever present when any proposition of that sort was made, when he assented to it, or encouraged it?

A. I never was present and heard any thing of the kind mentioned, but what was mentioned by me in the shop, and no person was present but Mr. Hardy and myself.

Q. Did any thing more pass between Mr. Hardy and you than what you have mentioned here?

A. No more.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Hardy that you had made a pike?

A. I did.

Q. Did you tell him for what purpose you had made it?

A. I did not tell him for what purpose.

Vol. II. X Q. He

Q. He knew you was a member of the society?

A. Yes.

Q. This bill that has been talked of, upon what occasion did Baxter give it you?

A. He gave it to two or three persons; I asked him to give me one.

Q. Why did you ask to have a thing of that sort, so perfectly indecent, absurd, and ridiculous?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If you had added infamous, it would have been quite proper—it should not be mentioned without some term that strongly expresses detestation—and ridiculous is not enough; I am sure you think so.

Mr. Erskine. I certainly do think so—Give me leave to ask, how you came to ask for a bill of that description?

A. I saw it at a distance, and could not read it; I wished to satisfy my curiosity, and asked Baxter to give me one.

Q. His Lordship having given a proper epithet to this bill, as a detestable thing, did you ever hear any thing pass from any member of the society, and more especially from the prisoner, which leads you to conclude that he would approve of a thing of that nature?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any expression pass in the course of their meetings that would lead you to believe they would think otherwise of the bill than his Lordship and I have now expressed our sentiments upon it?

A. I heard another person on the same night say it was an infamous thing, and too bad to be countenanced; it was only given to two or three.

Q. Have you any reason to believe the prisoner was acquainted with, connected with, or had seen that bill?

A. I do not believe he had ever seen it; I have no reason to know that he had ever seen it.

Q. From what you had an opportunity of observing of the prisoner at the bar, do you believe he would have encouraged a bill of that description?

A. I do not believe any such thing.

John Edwards.

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. With respect to this infamous bill, which was considered so by those who received it; you received it in a division meeting?

A. Not at a division meeting.

Q. You received it from a member of the division?

A. Not at that division.

Q. From a member of the Corresponding Society, Baxter?

A. It was.

Q. Three months before the date mentioned in it, the 30th of January?

A. Near three months.

Q. Now with respect to its absurdity and folly, having seen two or three delivered to different persons, you asked for one?

A. I did.

Q. That was not precisely the same bill that has been delivered to-day?

A. Not the same; not so large.

Q. This is a subsequent one, larger, and of another date?

A. It is.

Q. That purporting to be an entertainment on the 30th of January—this purporting to be on the first of April succeeding?

A. It is.

Q. You did not form any pike for yourself, until after you had heard from Mr. Yorke, that the society at Sheffield were preparing pikes for themselves?

A. I heard Mr. Yorke mention one night at the division, that the people at Sheffield had got pikes?

Q. Was it Mr. Yorke's intimation of what had passed at Sheffield, that led you to apply to Mr. Hardy for a direction to procure pike blades from that town?

A. No, I went of my own accord.

Q. What induced you to go to Mr. Hardy for a direction to a person at Sheffield, who would forge the blades for some pikes?

A. Because I understood Mr. Hardy knew who were the persons, or the secretary of the society at Sheffield would know who were the persons to whom I could send.

Q. If I understand you right, the particular occasion upon which these pikes were to be made, was upon the landing of Hessian troops without the consent of Parliament?

A. Not upon that occasion, I said I made it just at the time that the Hessian troops were landed without consent of Parliament.

Q. Then your making pikes had not any relation, I take for granted, to the landing of the Hessian troops without consent of Parliament; I mistook you when I took it so?

A. Not in consequence of their being landed.

Q. Nor at all connected with that?

A. No; I only said I made it at that time.

Q. Did you know that the Sheffield Society, which was in correspondence with your society, had published a resolution, "that the landing of Hessian troops in this country (a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers) without consent of Parliament, has a suspicious and alarming appearance; is contrary to the spirit of our constitution, and deserving of the marked indignation of every Englishman; that it is high time to be upon our guard, since these armed monsters may in a moment be let loose upon us?"

A. I do not recollect that.

Q. Do you venture to say that you never heard of that at that time from Mr. Yorke?

A. Not at that time.

Q. How soon did you hear of that resolution from the Sheffield Society?

A. Not for some time after.

Q. Upon your oath, was your pike completed before you heard of it in your division meetings?

A. No, it was not.

Q. Upon your oath will you venture to say you began to make it before that communication from Sheffield was made to your society?

A. No;

A. No; I had not begun it.

Q. Then I believe I was right in what I took down, that your making that pike was because Hessian troops were landed without the consent of Parliament?

A. I did not make it on that account, but I made it just at the time.

Q. Did you make it soon after Yorke had communicated that the Sheffield Society had come to spirited resolutions upon landing those troops?

A. I never heard him say any thing upon that subject.

Q. Where did you hear it?

A. I learnt it from a book that I purchased at Eaton's shop.

Q. At Eaton's shop in Newgate-street, the Cock and Swine?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Eaton a member of one of your societies?

A. He was.

Q. This was to prevent any illegal dispersion of your society?

A. It was,

Q. How long had your society met in General Meetings and in Secret Committees without the use of pikes, or the fabrication of any, antecedent to the resolutions at Sheffield as to landing Hessian troops?

A. I suppose for two years.

Q. Had you met with any interruption whatever in your meetings, except that which you have named of two Police Officers, coming into the public-house, and stating that they wanted to see if there were any men fit to serve his Majesty?

A. A division in Bunhill-row was often interrupted by the Police Officers.

Q. Had you met with any interruption in your general meetings, committees, or secret committees, except from peace officers?

A. No.

Samuel Williams (sworn.)

Examined by Mr. Bower.

Q. What are you?

A. A gun engraver.

Q. Do you know the prisoner at the bar, Mr. Hardy?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Franklow?

A. I do.

Q. Where did you first meet with Franklow?

A. At his own house.

Q. Did you ever see him at the prisoner's?

A. No.

Q. Were Hardy and Franklow together at any time when you saw them?

A. Never.

Q. Was Franklow a member of the London Corresponding Society, or the Society for Constitutional Information?

A. Of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Did Franklow ever apply to you to make any arms for him?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time?

A. I cannot be positive to the time.

Q. Were you a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon what occasion did you become a member of it?

A. The first inducement I had of being a member of the London Corresponding Society, was by seeing an advertisement in the Daily Advertiser from the London Corresponding Society.

Q. About what time?

A. In the last year; about the middle of the year.

Q. You became a member, in what manner?

A. I saw an advertisement in the Daily Advertiser of a general meeting to be held in the Strand; I saw that tickets of admission were to be had of Thomas Hardy, Secretary to the Corresponding Society, No. 9, Piccadilly. I went to him; he informed me that it was not customary to give tickets to any but such as were members of the society, which I told him I was not; we had some further conversation.

Q. What

Q. What was that further conversation?

A. It was something concerning a Reform in Parliament; I cannot relate the conversation.

Q. Do you mean to say the subject of the conversation you have described, was to state what the object of the society was?

A. It was for a Reform in Parliament.

Q. Did Hardy tell you so?

A. Yes; he gave me one of the London Corresponding Society's addresses which they had published. I gave him an order for a pair of shoes; the next time I went to his house I had the shoes—I told him I was in the line of selling guns, if he knew any person that wanted such things, I should be obliged to him if he would recommend me; he told me he did not know any person, if he heard of any person he would let me know; the next time I went to his house, he told me to bring a gun and the price, which I did.

Q. How long was that after you had first seen him?

A. About a fortnight or three weeks—I took a gun to him, which he sold.

Q. On your account or his?

A. On my account. I gave him an order for a pair of boots, which he made me, and told me to bring two or three more guns, which he sold likewise, and one gun was in his house, which was never sold, which I never was paid for.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Spence?

A. I did, I saw him once.

Q. Was he a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I never had any conversation with him in my life.

Q. Where did he live?

A. In Little Turnstile, Holborn.

Q. Did you ever see Franklow there?

A. I did.

Q. Upon what occasion did you go to Spence's house?

A. To instruct persons in the manual exercise.

Q. At whose request did you go to Spence's house?

A. At the request of Mr. Franklow,

Q. How many persons did you see in Mr. Spence's house that were assembled for the purpose of learning the manual exercise?

A. Four or five.

Q. Do you mean to say that you saw four or five at one time, or that four or five were all you saw, at all the times you were there?

A. I suppose there might be six or seven, at all the times I was there?

Q. In what part of the house did they exercise?

A. In a room up stairs, I believe, a two pair of stairs room, but I am not positive whether a one or two pair of stairs room; it was a small triangular room.

Q. Forward or backward?

A. I believe, forward.

Q. At what time?

A. Between the hours of eight and ten in the evening.

Q. At what time of the year?

A. Going on towards Christmas.

Q. It was of course dark then?

A. It was.

Q. Did you exercise them by candle light in the room?

A. Yes.

Q. Where there any shutters to the windows or curtains, or were the windows open?

A. I believe there were curtains, but I cannot be positive.

Q. Was there anybody else but yourself to exercise them.

A. No, there was not.

Q. Did you act then as the person to teach them their exercise, serjeant or corporal, or whatever it might be?

A. I did.

Q. What night in the week was it that you used to meet?

A. I believe it was on a Thursday night.

Q. Who introduced you at first to the London Corresponding Society?

A. I told Mr. Hardy that I should be glad to become a member of the London Corresponding Society, but did not know any person to introduce me, he named several persons but I did

would

not

not know either of them, he said he would propose me, it was upon his proposition that I became a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. How soon after your first meeting Hardy, did you become a member?

A. It might be a fortnight or three weeks, I cannot be positive.

Mr. Bower. Did you know any thing of a society called the Loyal Lambeth Association?

A. Yes, that was the association to which those people belonged.

Q. Did you ever go to Lambeth to exercise them?

A. I went to Mr. Franklow's house.

Q. Where did he live?

A. At No. 1, China Walk, Lambeth.

Q. How did you find where his house was?

A. When I went to Mr. Hardy's, one night, he gave me Mr. Franklow's card, and told me, that he was going to raise an Association, and wanted some person to supply them with arms.

Q. How soon after you had been introduced to Hardy was that?

A. It might have been six weeks or two months, I cannot say.

Q. In consequence of that, did you get a card or address from Hardy to Franklow?

A. I had a card.

Q. When did you go to Franklow's house?

A. It was two or three nights after I was at Hardy's.

Q. Did you find the same people there that you met at Spence's, or were they different people?

A. Different people.

Q. What did you do when you went to Franklow's, as to the people you met there?

A. They were then reading over the articles.

Q. What articles?

A. The articles of the Lambeth Association.

Q. Do you happen to know whether the Lambeth Association was composed of inhabitants of Lambeth?

A. No,

A. No, it was not.

Q. What was the name they gave themselves?

A. The Loyal Lambeth Association.

Q. It was not composed of inhabitants of Lambeth, you say?

A. Not entirely.

Q. Who were inhabitants of Lambeth, that you knew of that association—Franklow lived there?

A. Yes.

Q. Who else do you know of that association, that were parishioners, or inhabitants of Lambeth?

A. I cannot say I know any, I did not know where the people lived.

Q. How often might you attend at Franklow's for the purpose of disciplining these men?

A. Mr. Franklow himself disciplined them at his own house.

Q. Did you happen to know, by any means, how many there were of Lambeth people, that were in this Lambeth Association?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you happen to know, from Franklow, or any of them, whether they had applied to any magistrate, or had applied for any authority to hold this Loyal Lambeth Association?

A. They had not, to my knowledge.

Q. How many muskets did you yourself supply for the use of this association?

A. Eleven.

Q. By whose direction did you supply those eleven muskets?

A. Mr. Franklow's.

Q. Who paid you for them?

A. Mr. Franklow.

Q. For all of them?

A. For all but one.

Q. What were the arms, guns, or what?

A. Muskets.

Q. Had you any orders or intimation given to you, whether or no any more arms would be wanted for the use of that association?

A. There

A. There were to have been sixty.

Q. Do you know for what purpose that Lambeth Association was formed?

A. According to the articles, it was in case ———.

Q. Look at these, and tell me whether those are the articles of their association?

A. Those were the articles.

One of the Jury. Were these fuzee's?

A. They were all muskets.

Mr. Bower. Were there any bayonets?

A. Muskets, with steel rammers, and bayonets complete.

(The Preamble to the Articles read.)

" Rules, Articles and Regulations; to be observed by the Members of the Loyal Lambeth Association. London: Printed for the Society, 1792.

" Whereas the fear of invasion, and civil commotions, have
" alarmed several of the inhabitants of this parish and its
" vicinity, we have thought proper to form ourselves into a
" military association, to be distinguished by the name of the
" Loyal Lambeth Association, united for the defence of their
" country, lives and property; and against all subverters, and
" levellers of peace and good order; ever ready to step forward in the above case when called upon, within the parish
" of St. Mary's, Lambeth."

Mr. Bower. Where did you say Spence's house was?

A. In Little Turnstile, Holborn.

Q. That was the place where these associations, of the parish of Lambeth, met.

A. Part of them; and part of them met at John Shelmerdine's.

Q. Where is John Shelmerdine's?

A. Near the Borough, in Southwark.

Q. Do you happen to know whether there was a single person, that was disciplined, either at Franklow's or Spence's, who was not a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I really cannot inform you.

Q. Were

Q. Were all that you knew members of that society?

A. I never made that enquiry.

Mr. Erskine. We wish to have the articles read.

Rules, Articles, &c.

“ ART. I. This Association shall consist of one Captain, one
“ Lieutenant, one Ensign, a Serjeant-Major, three Serjeants,
“ three Corporals, Sixty Rank and File, two Drummers and
“ Fifers.

“ ART. II. Every person proposed and recommended, shall
“ be named a week previous to his introduction, and well known
“ by the member who recommends him.

“ ART. III. Every member shall pay weekly into the hands
“ of the Treasurer (chosen out of the Association) the sum of
“ One Shilling and Sixpence, for purchasing Arms, and Accou-
“ trements, as likewise towards defraying the incidental expences
“ of this Association, the subscriptions to be lessened when the
“ above Articles are purchased.

“ ART. IV. The Officers are all elective quarterly, as like-
“ wise a Committee of seven members, the Committee to re-
“ gulate the internal affairs of the Association; the Serjeant-
“ Major and Treasurer are not elective quarterly, but hold
“ their office during pleasure of the members of this Association,
“ and at all times while in office, are members of the Commit-
“ tee, over and above the seven members ballotted out of the
“ Association.

“ ART. V. As the protection of public and private pro-
“ perty is the object of this Association, we hereby engage to
“ step forth in case of fire, tumults, commotions, and riots, but
“ not beyond the Parish of St. Mary's, Lambeth.

“ ART. VI. The uniforms of this Association, is a blue
“ coat lappelled, scarlet collar, plain gilt buttons, white waist-
“ coat, nankeen breeches, white stockings, half-black garters,
“ black stock, cocked hat and cockade.

“ ART. VII. As the further object of this Association, is the
“ encouragement of its members in their different callings, it
“ is therefore resolved, that such articles as are used by this Af-
“ sociation

" sociation, to be had of its members; and when two or more
" members are of one profession to be equally divided.

" ART. VIII. That swords, eppulets, sashes, and sword-
" knots; be purchased out of the stock of the Association, for
" the use of officers.

" ART. IX. That this Association have four Quarterly
" Meetings, viz. the first Monday after the four regular quar-
" ters; when the Officers and Committee, are to be chosen:
" Audit the Treasurer's accounts, and other necessary business.

" ART. X. As no Armourer is to be appointed to this
" Association, every member shall keep his own Piece, and
" Accoutrements clean.

" ART. XI. That the place of Meeting be in or near the
" Town of Lambeth, in as commodious a place as can be
" procured.

" ART. XII. That every member clear the book, once a
" month, on neglect to fine one Shilling, all fines whatever to
" be added to the joint stock of this Association.

" XIII. That Mr. *Francklow* is appointed Serjeant-Major
" of this Association, as likewise Treasurer and Secretary,
" whose duty is to instruct the members in the use of Arms,
" and military discipline, for which two-pence a week be paid
" him from each member (out of the subscription) while learn-
" ing, to attend twice a week, Wednesday and Friday Evenings
" from seven to ten o'clock. As Treasurer he is to receive all
" subscriptions, and account with the Committee every fort-
" night, in order that they may issue such payments for Articles
" received in this Association; as Secretary, to keep the Muster-
" Roll and Book of this Association.

" *The above ARTICLES, &c. were agreed to, and signed by*
" *the following Members:*

" JOHN PHILIP FRANCKLOW.

" JOHN SHELMERDINE.

" JOHN WILLIAMSON.

" JAMES DAVISON.

" SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

" Nov. 15th. 1793."

Mr.

Mr. Bower. This Association was for the purpose of stepping forth in case of fire, tumults, commotions, and riots; but they were not to go beyond the parish of St. Mary's, Lambeth. I asked you, before, whether any of those members, except Franklow that you knew, were inhabitants of the parish of Lambeth—you said not?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you know any of them?

A. I knew that some of them were not.

Q. How came Spence's house, in Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, to be a place fixed upon for exercising the members of the Loyal Lambeth Association, who were not to go beyond the bounds of their own parish?

A. I can tell no otherwise, only, that they could not get any place else. It was thought proper, by Franklow, and some others, that as they could not get members fast enough, that the Association should be divided into ten divisions; one division to be up at Spence's—another at John Shelmerdine's—another in Westminster, at Williamfon's; where the others were to be I do not know.

Q. Had you, at the time that you were supplying arms to this society, any conversations with them upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform; or did you hear any conversation among them respecting that.

A. Yes; there was conversation of that kind passed between them, more times than once, at the times of their meetings.

Q. What was the subject of those conversations, or did those conversations respect at all the end of their Association?

A. I cannot tell; I never minuted any thing down.

Q. Can you tell the substance of any conversation they had upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform?

A. I can go no further than this, that I could collect so far as this, that if they could not get a Reform of Parliament without it, they would endeavour to have got it by the force of arms.

Q. I ask you from the conversation of the members of that association that met—

Mr. Gibbs. I object to this—I understand the court has determined

terminated that any thing that any member of the Corresponding Society says, is evidence against Mr. Hardy; but I do not apprehend that the court has determined that every thing said by the members of the Lambeth Association, whom the witness does not know to be members of the Corresponding Society is evidence, consequently the question put, of what this man has heard from any member of the Lambeth Association, unless he can fix that he heard it from some of those that compose the Corresponding Society, is not evidence.

Mr. Bower. I understood you, that Hardy gave you the address of Franklow?

A. Yes; he gave me his card.

Q. In consequence of which you went to Franklow's, and there met this society?

A. Yes.

Mr. Bower. I conceive when I prove that a number persons assemble together, under the directions of the prisoner, that I can give evidence of their conversation?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The moment you have proved one of the terms of your proposition you are right; at the moment it is proved that this association of Franklow's was under the direction of the prisoner, undoubtedly every thing they do will be evidence against the prisoner; but I do not observe that the evidence goes farther than this—in the course of trade Williams buying shoes and boots of Hardy, Hardy recommends him to Franklow, in the way of his business, and there is nothing that I can discover, at present, to connect Franklow's transaction, with regard to this association, with Hardy, except so far as the members of it, can be traced to be members of the London Corresponding Society: you have examined with a view to that, and it appeared to me that that examination rather failed, for he did not undertake to know that any of those people were members of that society.

Mr. Bower. I will see if I can get the facts a little more distinctly—was Franklow a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. He was.

Q. Did

Q. Did you know Shelmerdine?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he a member?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know John Williamson?

A. Yes; but I cannot say whether he was a member or not.

Q. Do you know James Davison?

A. I never saw him but once.

Q. Do you know whether he was a member of the Corresponding Society?

A. I cannot take upon me to say.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Franklow was a member of the London Corresponding Society---this Association undoubtedly was formed by him---it is his creature absolutely; and therefore that is the ground on which the transaction of that association must be let in.

Mr. Solicitor General. It has already been proved that at the dinner, on the 20th of January, Franklow appeared in the regimentals of this association.

Mr. Gibbs. He did so; but I do not apprehend that if any gentleman who wears a particular uniform had appeared up stairs at dinner with your lordships to-day, that your lordships would be affected by any thing which a member of the society, to which that gentleman belonged had said. I might put the case of some gentlemen who did dine with your lordships, who are engaged in societies that wear uniforms: suppose one of those gentlemen had happened to dine with your lordships up stairs in that uniform, by the argument the Solicitor General uses, because he appeared in his uniform, at dinner with your lordships, therefore, what any one said who belonged to the society, distinguished by that uniform, would be evidence against all those who had dined with that gentleman. It seems to me that is an argument which cannot stand for a moment.

Another way in which it has been put by my learned friend, Mr. Bower, is this---That because Mr. Franklow being a member of the London Corresponding Society, presided at another society, for a purpose that is not connected with the

London

London Corresponding Society---therefore, first his declarations are evidence against Hardy, because he is one of those thousands of whom the London Corresponding Society consists; and next, if he constitutes another society consisting of ten thousand men, every thing, that every one of those ten thousand men, who are constituted by one man that belongs to the two or three thousand of which the London Corresponding Society consists, is to be evidence against Mr. Hardy---It does not seem to me that there is any principle of law upon which any of those men who happened to belong to a society, instituted by Franklow, he happening to be a member of the society, of which Hardy was a member, that the declarations of any one of those men so sub-connected with the society, no, not even upon oath, can be evidence against Hardy, to prove either that he has compassed the King's death, or done any of the acts stated in this indictment, or that those acts were pointed to that design against the King's life. Perhaps, I am less distinct in arguing the case, before your lordship, because, I confess, I do not feel any principle upon which this can be contended to be evidence.

Mr. Bower. I will prove that none were to be admitted into Franklow's Association, but members of the London Corresponding Society.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Whether the principle will apply to the particular fact is another thing; but it has been so often stated, that I am surprized we have not had the good fortune to make ourselves understood by the bar, because we have stated from the beginning of this trial, that there was a species of evidence, which was admissible in this case, which had no immediate relation to the prisoner; and that there was another species of evidence which had immediate relation to the prisoner---that inasmuch as the prisoner is charged with being involved in a conspiracy, and some evidence being given of his having been so involved, that all the transactions of that conspiracy, to which he is not immediately a party, he will be bound by, if, upon the whole, he has consented to that general conspiracy; and that, therefore, all the transactions of a plot are always given in evidence, without regard to the question, whether the prisoner

is proved to be concerned in those particular transactions—always with this reserve, that there must be evidence enough against the prisoner to prove him so involved in the plot, as to become responsible for all the parts of it—that seems sufficiently distinct.

But there may be a doubt whether this particular case falls within the principle. The first question is—whether there is any evidence here of Franklow's being a member of the London Corresponding Society; if the only proof of that is, that he dined in an uniform at their annual dinner, I should have great difficulty about that, because, I understand, that they were in the habit of receiving visitors as well as entertaining their own members—that being so, a man might be there without being a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Supposing it once proved distinctly that he was a member of the London Corresponding Society, then the question will be, was he a member of the Corresponding Society, who is charged with having a great share in the whole of this transaction—is found to be associating persons together under a pretence not true in fact, of their being inhabitants of Lambeth, and associating for the defence of the inhabitants of Lambeth; that they are furnished with arms, are learning the manual exercise, and are connected with the society, either by Franklow's being, or being themselves members of the Corresponding Society. I cannot undertake to say, that that will not connect with the general history of this transaction; and, therefore, there may be room upon that ground to admit the evidence; but first of all, how is the fact with regard to Franklow being a member?

Mr. Gibbs. I could understand how Franklow's declarations were evidence, but the point that puzzled me was, I could not understand how the declarations of those men who were only concerned with Franklow in his association, could be evidence, because it seems to me upon the same principle that the declarations of people sub-employed by them, and of others sub-employed by them, and so on, would be evidence.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Unless they can be put exactly in the condition of Franklow, your objection is right.

Mr. Attorney General. Was Franklow a member of the Corresponding Society?

A. He was.

Mr. Bower. Whether, previous to your admission into that society, you had any conversation with the prisoner about the London Corresponding Society, about providing arms for the Lambeth Association?

A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Were you admitted a member of the London Corresponding Society, before you were employed by the Lambeth Association?

A. Yes.

Q. How happened you to be admitted a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Mr. Hardy told me to meet a young man who would go with me to the division, and I should be admitted, and I was by that means admitted.

Q. Before you were admitted to the Lambeth Association, were you asked at all whether you were a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I do not recollect that I was.

Q. Did Franklow know that you was?

A. I have no reason to think he did not; I believe he did.

Q. Hardy did know it?

A. Yes.

Q. From the conversation of the members there associated—

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Enquire what the conversation was, because whether he rightly collects the effect of it or not, cannot be known with certainty.

Mr. Bower. Tell us the substance of any conversation you have heard amongst the members of this society respecting the purposes of this association for a Parliamentary Reform?

Mr. Gibbs. It seems to me that it is not open to Mr. Bower to fix the prisoner with what the witness may fancy he has collected from conversations that he has heard at this society, without mentioning who those persons were from whom he heard it, for how am I to contradict it.

Mr. Bower. If you ever heard any conversations of the kind, do you recollect any of the members of the society who were present?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You said you understood from conversation amongst them, what they intended to do. Now what were those conversations, and from whom did you hear those conversations?

A. I really cannot name the persons; I make no doubt but what Mr. Nodder and Mr. Sanderfon themselves might be present, they were members of the same association.

Mr. Bower. Did you hear any thing from Franklow about a Parliamentary Reform?

A. I cannot say I recollect any thing that he said particularly; he was present when such conversation passed.

Frederick Polydore Nodder (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. Were you a member of the Loyal Lambeth Association?

A. No.

Q. Were you ever present with them?

A. No.

Q. Were you ever at Spence's in Turnstile?

A. I was.

Q. Were you ever there when any of the Loyal Lambeth Association were there?

A. I cannot tell, for I do not know any thing of any persons of that description.

George Sanderfon (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. Were you ever present at any meeting of the Loyal Lambeth Association?

A. None of that description as I know of.

Mr. Bower to Williams. Did you ever hear any conversation in the presence of Franklow, from the persons who were present there at that association?

A. Yes; I have said so already.

Q. You have in the presence of Franklow, though you do not know the persons?

J. Yes.

Mr. Bower. I submit that is sufficient to let in the evidence.

Mr. Justice Grose. But let us hear the conversation, Mr. Bower, not what he collected.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. All that can affect Franklow by the general evidence, must be admissible.

Mr. Erskine. The Court has ruled frequently in the course of the trial; and it would be indecent in us to argue it again—that any thing said or done by any member of the London Corresponding Society, or any members of any other society with which that society is implicated, will be evidence to prove the first branch of the conspiracy, and that they must go on to build upon that evidence, that which is necessary afterwards to affect the prisoner. Therefore I submit to your Lordships what I take to be the distinction here—Mr. Bower was going on to prove that all the members of the Lambeth Association were members of the Corresponding Society, which would put an end to our objection; or supposing they were not all members, if the witness had said that what was done came from a member of the Corresponding Society, then I apprehend it will be evidence also; but your Lordship has truly said, that Mr. Hardy does not seem to be more connected with Williams, the Serjeant Major of this particular body, than merely in the course of trade he asked him if he knew any body that wanted guns, he said he did not; this man made shoes for him; in the course of a fortnight or three weeks after he recommended him to Franklow, but *non constat* that at the time he recommended him to Franklow, he knew the articles of his association, he only knew Franklow in his character of a member of the London Corresponding Society; therefore I conceive it would be going beyond the rule your Lordship has established, for a man to state what he heard in the presence of Franklow, who might be attending to something else, or who might not approve of what was said, and which might have nothing to do with his institution; it would be too much to affect the prisoner, particularly at so late a period of the cause, (though I do not mean to say that would make any specific difference) with a declaration so very inconsistent with

what your Lordship has already heard upon this subject; it therefore seems to me an object of greater suspicion, and more our duty to guard against. The witness has said he cannot specify who the person was, and if they were not all members of the London Corresponding Society, *non constat*, that the man was a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Nothing turns upon the question, whether Hardy did or not recommend Williams to Franklow, the ground of its admissibility is simply, that Franklow was a member of the London Corresponding Society—then as a ground of the general conspiracy, it is offered to prove that Franklow had formed an association of armed men, to which association they will impute a design connected with this alleged conspiracy; whatever, therefore, will fix Franklow with that, has been considered as proper evidence to that general charge; and the only question, therefore is, whether laying, for a moment, the prisoner out of the case, supposing Franklow himself at the bar—whether if he makes an association of persons of this description, and, if there are conversations passing in his presence, from whence a bad design can be imputed to this association, whether that is not admissible evidence as against him; what the effect of the evidence will be, it is truly observed, will depend upon a thousand circumstances; whether he was attending, whether, if he was attending, he approved or disapproved of it? all which may avoid the effect of the evidence; still it seems to me that as against Franklow, and to fix upon him the having been guilty of forming this association for a bad purpose, the transactions that pass in his hearing are clearly evidence.

Mr. Bower to Williams. You told me Mr. Sanderfon and Mr. Nodder were present at a conversation that I should have asked you to, if I had been admitted; were they present at Spence's, Franklow's, or Shelmerdine's?

A. I have only seen them at Shelmerdine's and Spence's.

Frederick Polydore Nodder (called in again,)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. You are a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I am.

A. I am.

Q. Were you present at either Spence's or Shelmerdine's, and at which, at the time the last witness, Williams, was there, and when persons were assembled for the purpose of being drilled?

A. To my knowledge I never saw Williams but at Spence's.

Q. You have been with Williams at Spence's, when the persons were assembled that he was drilling and teaching the manual exercise?

A. I have.

Q. When you were there, did you from any persons there, hear any conversation—

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Did you say you was a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. Yes; I am a member of the 13th division; here is my ticket (*producing it.*)

Mr. Bower. Do you know whether the persons who were there, were members of the London Corresponding Society or not?

A. I cannot say whether all were; some of them were.

(*The Ticket read.*)

"No. 35, London Corresponding Society, united for a Reform of Parliamentary Representation—Unite, persevere, and be free—Division No. 13." On the back—"Frederick Nodder, paid to Midsummer tenpence, Samuel Cooper, 1794."

Mr. Bower. I cannot carry this further, and therefore I must leave it to the sense of the Court.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I understand the Court to have decided that you may enquire into conversations in the presence of Franklow.

Mr. Erskine. To what was said, but not what he collected.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Not what he collected.

Mr. Bower to Williams. Tell me any conversation you recollect when Franklow was present respecting the London Corresponding Society?

A. I cannot recollect the conversations.

Q. Can you recollect any part of them; how did you collect it?

A. By being with them at various times, and hearing different talk; there were some among them which I did not take any notice of, or give myself any concern about.

Q. When they met at all, was the subject of Parliamentary Reform introduced at all as a topic of conversation?

A. No; only some would be talking one to the other.

Q. You mean it was not general conversation, not as a debate, or any thing of that kind?

A. No.

Q. But they were talking to each other?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they talking so that Franklow heard them?

A. Private persons might talk about it.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. We ought to be always very correct when collecting what people said. I think you had better not press it.

Mr. Bower. You heard from Franklow that they were to consist of sixty?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear from Franklow whether they were to have any more, or that was to be the utmost quantity they were to have?

A. That was to be the number.

Q. Had you any directions from Franklow or Hardy upon the subject of arms, or of any other kind?

A. I was one night in Mr. Hardy's shop, and there was a person there asked me how long I thought I should be to get a thousand.

Q. Was Mr. Hardy present?

A. He was present; it was a stranger; he asked how long I thought I should be getting a thousand guns; I told him I could not think of getting so many in the situation that I was in.

Q. What said Hardy to it?

A. I do not know that he made any reply.

Q. Was

Q. Was any thing more said?

A. They said they might get a thousand from Sheffield; I said such a thing might be, but I could not undertake any thing of the kind; there, as far as I recollect, the conversation ended.

George Sanderfon,

Examined by Mr. Law.

Q. Where do you live?

A. In Butcher-row, Temple-bar.

Q. You keep a public-house there, the Bunch of Grapes?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been at Spence's with Nodder.

A. Yes.

Q. How long ago is it since you first went to Shelmerdine's, if ever you was there?

A. I must refer to the notes I have, the memorandum I made. (*Refers to his memorandum.*) It was the 2d of April.

Q. What was the occasion of your going there?

A. It was to decide a bet.

Q. Did you see any fire arms there?

A. I did.

Q. Who did they belong to?

A. They belonged to the armed society.

Q. Where were they?

A. At Shelmerdine's in the Borough.

Q. What is Shelmerdine?

A. A hatter.

Q. On what day was this?

A. The second of April in the evening.

Q. Do you know of how many persons this armed society consisted?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. How many stand of arms did you find there?

A. I did not take particular notice, there might be seven or eight stand of arms there.

Q. Of how many persons did this armed society consist?

A. I suppose of twenty-four or twenty-five members.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether all the persons of the association were members of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I suppose they were, because they objected to my being of the armed association because I was not a member of the London Corresponding Society. I was made a member of the armed society upon a promise that I would become a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Did you afterwards become so?

A. I did.

Q. How many persons have you seen at any one time together at this armed society?

A. I think when I first met them at Shelmerdine's there might be twenty-four or twenty-five; they did not all meet at Shelmerdine's; we adjourned to another place; it was supposed to be dangerous to meet at Shelmerdine's; the adjournment had been agreed upon before I came there; the greater part of the arms had been removed.

Q. Who had you to teach you the military exercise there?

A. We did not exercise there.

Q. Or at the place to which you adjourned?

A. We did not exercise there, we only adjourned there for the purpose of fixing upon a proper place to exercise in.

Q. What was the house to which they did adjourn?

A. The house was in Worcester-street.

Q. Was the name of the person Day?

A. The same—we went up stairs, they mentioned then that the private committee of the armed society had fixed upon another place for exercising.

Q. Where did that private committee sit?

A. They sat with the rest.

Q. At Day's?

A. Yes.

Q. What were those places where you were to assemble?

A. One was at Spence's, the other was in Westminster, just by Tothil-fields Bridewell, at a blacksmith's shed.

Q. Did you assemble with others at any time at either of those places?

A. Yes;

A. Yes; I pretty constantly attended them; I went to Spence's first; we met once or twice a week.

Q. For what number of weeks did you meet?

A. I called several times when there were none there; it was the 14th of November, I think, I first of all went;—no; it was on the 11th of April, the first time I went to Spence's to exercise; I continued to go occasionally to Spence's till May the 1st.

Q. From the 11th of April till May, you continued to go to Spence's, and this shed in Westminster, for the purposes of exercising?

A. I did.

Q. Who was the person that generally taught you?

A. Formerly Williams; and Orr, from the 11th of April till May; on the first of May I took away my gun.

Q. What was the greatest number of persons you met, at either of those places, during the period you have mentioned?

A. I do not think we ever met above six.

Q. And you was there taught the military exercise?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Orr?

A. I believe a Taylor; I have heard so.

Q. Had he served abroad?

A. He mentioned frequently in conversation, that he had served against the Allied Armies.

Q. Was he a member?

A. He was a member of the Corresponding Society; he had served in the French army, from his own account.

Q. You were not at first admitted, but you became afterwards a member of the Corresponding Society?

A. I did.

Q. What was the reason that you did not go afterwards to exercise at Shelmerdines?

A. He was a Hatter, and frequently changed his men; and some of them, they observed, might not be staunch to the cause, and therefore it might be hazardous.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Hazardous to the cause; to what cause?

A. If

A. If I might judge from the conversation, it was to obtain a Parliamentary Reform, at the point of the bayonet.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. When you say, the cause, do you mean the cause they were engaged in?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You were in an association, and had articles of an association?

A. I never saw them.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Were not the articles acted upon?

A. Part of them were; that we were to pay so much upon admission; one half of which was to buy arms, the other to defray the incidental expences of the society.

Mr. Law. Was you a member of the 13th division?

A. I was admitted a member the same night Mr. Nodder was, and received a similar ticket.

Q. Did that meet at Robins's Coffee-House, in Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember, upon the 3d of May, any member giving an account of the time when Mr. Pitt would probably be at the House of Commons?

A. Yes; I perfectly well recollect the circumstance; it was in the month of May; I do not recollect the night.

Q. What was the conversation that passed in the presence of those members, respecting the circumstance I have mentioned?

A. One of the members got up, and said, Citizens—

Mr. Erskine. Who was the member?

A. I do not know.

Mr. Erskine. I submit it is necessary it should appear, that he was a member of the Corresponding Society.

Mr. Law. Was it a member of the division?

A. Yes; at this meeting none were admitted but members.

Q. What did this member say?

A. Citizens, Mr. Pitt will go over—I forget which of the bridges, but he mentioned one of the bridges, at twelve o'clock at night.

Q. Did he accompany that with any observation?

A. None;

A. None; there was a general clap upon the table, and some said it was very improper to make any comments upon it.

Q. Was any thing further said, at what bridge?

A. They mentioned the particular bridge, and on what occasion he would be detained till twelve o'clock at night; I think it was Putney Bridge, but do not recollect the bridge to a certainty.

Q. Was any piece of good news, or any thing they called good news, announced, at that time, by one of the members?

A. Yes; there was some good news announced that very night, as they termed it.

Q. What was it?

A. A defeat of part of the British army; I do not recollect what.

Q. Was that called good news?

A. It was generally so understood by the society.

Q. Was that, so described, so announced?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any thing being mentioned, with respect to any of the King's Messengers?

A. I do.

Q. What was that?

A. That he had the pleasure to inform the society, that he heard one of the King's Messengers had been killed in the country.

Q. Do you remember a member of that society of the name of Higgins?

A. I remember the name of Citizen Higgins, but I do not recollect his person.

Q. Do you remember any observation that a member made, respecting any of his relations?

A. I do recollect some observations, but cannot recollect the exact words; but I think he said, if it had been his own father, or his own son, he should be glad, if he met with the same fate.

Q. Had who been?

A. The Messenger.

Q. Was

Q. Was that man a near relation of any of the King's Messengers?

A. I do not know.

Q. Was that said by Higgins?

A. I do not know; I do not know Higgins personally.

Q. Was any thing mentioned, by way of caution, to the members, for fear of spies?

A. It was frequently hinted to the members to be cautious, for fear of spies; to be careful what they said; for, in all divisions of the society, spies from the Treasury would creep in.

Q. Do you remember any proposition for subdividing the meetings into a less number?

A. Yes; it was a proposal, that, as they might be prevented meeting in public houses, on account that their licences might be taken away, that they should be divided into titheings, that they might meet at the house of every tenth man.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Was that your armed society?

A. No; the London Corresponding Society.

Mr. Law. Was the proposition acceded to?

A. It was deferred for further consideration.

Q. Was there any mention of any one of the committee being a spy?

A. Not in particular that I recollect; there was some one alluded to, but I did not understand who it was.

Q. Was any thing said what should be done, if any spy was discovered among you?

A. One member observed, he should not regard blowing any spy's brains out, if he discovered him.

Q. You had a musket?

A. Yes.

Q. From whom?

A. From Williams.

Q. That musket you have now?

A. No; I have not.

George

George Sanderson,

Cross-examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. So a member said, he would not care for blowing any spy's brains out?

A. Yes.

Q. Was not you a little afraid when you heard that?

A. I was.

Q. Oh! you was a spy, was you?

A. I was.

Q. What was that paper you had in your hand, a little while ago?

A. Merely a memorandum of dates.

Q. I am glad you have it; we will go to work with dates;— I like a paper of dates; you will be bound by it?

A. I will be bound by it, upon my oath, as near as a man can be bound to a paper of dates.

Q. On what night was it, and at what place, that there was a rejoicing, that there was a defeat of the British troops, and when one of the members said, that one of the King's Messengers had been killed; and, if it had been his own father, he should have been glad, if he had met with the same fate?

A. I think it was the 21st.

Mr. Erskine. None of your thinking, when you have the paper in your hands!

A. I have not a memorandum of the date.

Q. What date have you taken, good Mr. Spy?

A. I do not think, upon such an occasion, being a spy is any disgrace.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. These observations are more proper when you come to address the Jury.

Mr. Attorney General. Really that is not a proper way to examine witnesses.—Lord Holt held strong language to such sort of an address from a Counsel to a witness, who avowed himself a spy.

Mr.

Mr. Erskine. I am sure I shall always pay that attention to the Court which is due from me; but I am not to be told by the Attorney General, how I am to examine a witness.

Mr. Attorney General. I thought you had not heard his Lordship.

Mr. Erskine. I am much obliged to his Lordship for the admonition he gave me.—I heard his Lordship, and I heard you, which I should not have heard.

What was the date when you say that passed, that there was a defeat of the British troops, and somebody said, that there was a Messenger killed in the country, and he should have been glad if it had it been his own father?

A. When first I was introduced into the 13th division, was on the 21st of April, on a Monday.

Q. When was it you heard that conversation, from whence you collected, that the Reform of Parliament was to be carried at the point of the bayonet?

A. That was mentioned at the armed society.

Q. Have you got any date for that?

A. Yes; I never was there but once, therefore I could not make an error in that; it was April the 2d.

Q. At what place?

A. At Day's.

Q. Where is Day's?

A. In the Borough, near the Grove; I believe it is called Worcester-street.

Q. How many persons were present at that time?

A. Some were going up stairs, and some going away; to the best of my recollection there might be twenty-two, twenty-three, or twenty-four; I did not count them, as I never expected to be called.

Q. You must have expected it?

A. I had every reason to suppose I should not be called.

Q. I wish to know from you, whether, from the conversation that you are now stating, of obtaining a Reform of Parliament, at the point of the bayonet, whether you collected this from one person, or the general conversation of the whole people?

A. It

A. It seemed to be the opinion of the whole company, that a Parliamentary Reform could not be obtained, but at the point of the bayonet.

Q. And you collected, that it was their intention so to carry it?

A. Yes; from their general conversation.

Q. And you fix that conversation to the 2d of April, at this place?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that you said about a bet?

A. The reason of my going there was to decide a bet; that was the way I first came to go there.

Q. And you lost your bet?

A. I did.

Q. You made yourself a Member of the Corresponding Society?

A. I did.

Q. And took those notes?

A. I did.

Q. Why did you take those notes?

A. When I once discovered, that an armed society of this sort existed, which I thought of such dangerous tendency, I immediately gave notice to the Secretary of State.

Q. How long after you had lost your bet?

A. Between two and three days; but I mentioned it before that bet was decided, that, if I lost my bet, I should certainly acquaint the Secretary of State.

Q. Should you know the faces of any of those persons?

A. I should, of two or three of them.

Q. Should you know more of them?

A. I do not think I should; I know the person in the chair, Orr.

Q. Was Franklow there?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know any body else that was there?

A. I think Williams was there; but I did not expect to see such a thing; I was very much flurried and confused.

Edward Gossling (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garrow*.

Q. Have you been for any time a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I became a member on the 15th of April.

Q. What April do you speak of?

A. April, 1794.

Q. Did you become a member, in consequence of any communication between you and any Magistrate of the country?

A. I had not been directed to become a member, in consequence of the recommendation of any Magistrate; I had been unexpectedly proposed by Whittam, and a Magistrate had told me, if another person had proposed me, I should become a member.

Q. Had you communicated with any Magistrate of the country, before you communicated with the society?

A. Not respecting the Corresponding Society.

Q. Who was the person that first introduced you to the society?

A. John Hillier.

Q. Did you make application to him first, or he to you?

A. I first went to Hillier, to make some enquiries respecting a person, who was a member of that society.

Q. What led you to go to Hillier to make that enquiry?

A. From seeing publications of that nature, and I was informed that the person respecting whom I was directed to make the enquiry was a member of the Corresponding Society.

Q. Publications of what nature?

A. From seeing publications in Hillier's shop window, which appeared to me, to be of a seditious nature.

Q. What business did Hillier carry on?

A. He sold pamphlets.

Q. From that you thought it likely he was a member of the society, likely to give you information, there being some man you wanted to enquire about?

A. Yes.

3

Q. When

Q. When did you first make your application to Hillier?

A. I believe towards the end of March, or the beginning of April.

Q. For what purpose did you become a member of the corresponding society?

A. On the 14th of April when I first became a member, I was unexpectedly proposed, on the day following I informed Mr. Wickham that I had done so.

Q. What passed between you and the Magistrate is not evidence, but in consequence of what passed between you and him, why did you attend the meeting?

A. To discover whether they had any serious intentions of arming.

Q. You have stated that you communicated something upon the subject, to Mr. Wickham?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it with his approbation that you attended the meeting for the purpose you have now stated?

A. It was.

Q. Did you from time to time communicate to Mr. Wickham, such facts as came to your knowledge?

A. I did.

Q. And went there for the express purpose of procuring information, and giving it?

A. I did.

Q. When was you first introduced?

A. On the 15th of April 1794.

Q. At what division?

A. Division No. II.

Q. Meeting at what place?

A. Northampton-street Clerkenwell, I do not recollect the sign rightly, but the man's name was Holt.

Q. Did Hillier introduce you?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of persons were present at that meeting?

A. I cannot exactly tell, there might be about thirty.

Q. Did any thing material pass at that meeting?

A. There was some conversation about the proceedings at Chalk Farm.

Q. Had the meeting then at Chalk Farm taken place?

A. This was the day after the meeting had been at Chalk Farm.

Q. What passed with respect to the meeting which had been had at Chalk Farm?

A. The conversation turned that night principally upon that, and some were talking that it was necessary to arm to protect the convention, in the same manner as they had in France; I heard some present talking in consequence of a convention having been talked of at Chalk Farm that it would be necessary to arm to defend that convention the same as they had done to protect the Convention in France; I think it is proper to say that their minds appeared at that time to be very much heated from what had passed at Chalk Farm, and therefore from that circumstance I did not think so much of their being serious.

Q. Do you mean that they were heated with liquor?

A. No, not with liquor.

Q. What was described to have passed at Chalk Farm that should so have heated their spirits?

A. There were a number of resolutions passed.

Q. Do you recollect any of those resolutions?

A. Yes, I remember one resolution, I can remember some circumstances which occurred at Chalk Farm.

Q. That were stated to have occurred there—you was not there?

A. I was at Chalk Farm.

Q. Then you were there before you became a member?

A. Yes.

Q. State any circumstances that occurred at Chalk Farm, particularly such as were mentioned in this meeting of the division the night after?

A. There were a number of resolutions read which I cannot repeat; but one of them concluded with the words, brought the head of Charles the First to the block, and sent James the Second from the throne; then a man, whose name I understood was

Birks,

Birks, shouted, I remember a person, whose name I was told was Richter, mentioned that he had received a letter, from Sheffield I think, but am not positive to the place, that a great number of persons had met there, and that they were determined to petition Parliament no more for a Reform; that a convention was intended to be called, and that, I think, he said it was to take place in about six weeks, or a shorter time, I cannot recollect the positive words.

Q. Upon Birks's shouting was any observation made by any persons present at Chalk Farm?

A. Some persons said that they thought holding up their hands was sufficient; this man called out that he wished to be heard at St. James's.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Thelwall being there?

A. There was a person there whose name I was told was Thelwall, whom I never saw before nor since.

Q. Did that person take any part in the conversation and debate that was going forward?

A. Yes, he spoke several times.

Q. Do you recollect any particular expression that struck you that he made use of?

A. Something that Mr. Dundas had threatened to bring the Scotch laws into England, and if they attempted it, they must repel force by force, or something of that sort.

Q. Do you recollect what particular subject respecting the Scotch laws was the subject of conversation?

A. I believe it related to some persons that were tried.

Q. What was the expression used?

A. That infamous and ever to be detested Court of Justiciary in Scotland.

Q. Do you recollect the remainder of that sentence?

A. I cannot say I have a positive recollection; I made no minutes at the time.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You have better evidence I suppose of the resolutions, than of the conversation?

Mr. Garrow. Was there any direction as to the printing any number of copies of the proceedings of the day?

A. I think the number that was ordered to be printed was two hundred thousand;—I cannot say, whether one or two hundred thousand copies of the resolutions, if they should be wanted.

Q. Which was the next meeting of the division that you was at afterwards?

A. On the Monday following I was at the meeting of another division.

Q. Where was that?

A. At the house of one Morris, a Jack-maker, in Brick-lane.

Q. What division was that?

A. I believe they call it sixteen and twenty-five.

Q. Did any thing material pass at that time?

A. I do not recollect any thing particular, any further than Doctor Hodson was recommended by the committee to be relieved.

Q. Where was he at that time, and what was the purpose for which he was to be relieved?

A. There was no particular purpose stated, only he was recommended for relief.

Q. Did you go with Hillier next day to see Doctor Hodson?

A. I did.

Q. Where did you go to?

A. To Newgate.

Q. Who was you introduced to there?

A. To Doctor Hodson,

Q. Did Hillier go with you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any other person there besides Doctor Hodson?

A. Yes, one Lloyd, Roussel a Frenchman, and a Captain Williams, an American.

Q. Hillier was likewise there?

A. Yes.

Q. Be so good as tell us what the nature of the conversation was there in the presence of Hillier, he being one of the parties?

A. The principal conversation that I had was with Doctor Hodson.

Q. Was

Q. Was it in the presence of Hillier?

A. He was there, all those persons were present, the most material conversation that passed then was from Doctor Hodson, he asked me if I had seen a copy of the new constitution, I told him I was but a young member, and did not know any thing of it; he then informed me that there was a very clever one coming out; the society was to be divided into divisions, and into small divisions, that the purpose of that was for the convenience of learning the use of arms, at each other's houses.

Q. What more passed at that time?

(The witness refers to a paper.)

Lord Chief Baron Macdonald. Did you make that memorandum at the time?

A. I did; he informed me that those divisions were to be called tithings; and that the purpose of them was likewise to keep spies from getting among them, and betraying their intention; he likewise stated, that their numbers were encreasing, and that they would soon be too formidable to be resisted. I made an observation, that I did not think, from what I had seen in the society, that they appeared to be men of property, to have money to effect any thing, upon which a Frenchman, who was there, got up and said, when the society was organized, money should not be wanting.

Q. Was this Roussel that you have mentioned?

A. Yes.

Q. Did any thing more material pass at that time?

A. There were some toasts given, one of which was given by Lloyd; the toast was, the world a republic or a desert: Doctor Hodson said, he hoped soon to see a revolutionary tribunal established in this country, for he despised all others.

Q. He was then suffering under the sentence of the law, I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. This was said still in the presence of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. Was any thing more said at that meeting that was material?

A. Rouffel said he was going from there to Thelwall's, and he should set off the next day. Lloyd asked him, for the continent, he answered, *oui*. Hillier asked to France, he answered, yes.

Q. When Hillier invited you to go to Newgate to see those persons, who did he ask you to go and see?

A. The persecuted patriots.

Q. Is Mr. Lloyd confined upon any sentence upon a criminal prosecution?

A. I do not know; Lloyd was part of the time writing; I heard he was a prisoner, but for what I do not know.

Q. When was the next meeting of the division?

A. I think it was the same evening I was at the division to which I belonged,

Q. Which was that?

A. The eleventh.

Q. Who were the persons that were present there?

A. One Wright a delegate, and Gordon who was secretary, and about thirty-six other persons, I believe.

Q. This meeting was, I believe, at the Hope, in Northampton-street, upon the 22d of April?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was the delegate at that meeting?

A. His name was Wright.

Q. Do you recollect any conversation of Wright's in the society, upon the subject of arms?

A. After the society had broke up we were coming away; Wright asked me if I had got any arms, I told him no, he said he had got his musket, and that it was necessary that we should all have arms as we might very soon be compelled to use them.

Q. Was that said as well in the hearing of other members as yourself?

A. Yes; the Secretary stated, that he was very sorry to leave the society just as they were going to act as well as think, and to regenerate their country.

Q. Who was their Secretary?

A. His

A. His name was Gordon, he was going to America; he said he should take some copies of their spirited resolutions to the popular societies there.

Q. Did you hear any observations upon the subject of arming from Hillier, or any other member of the society besides Wright, the delegate?

A. Hillier said, he had not got a musket, but he had got a pike.

Q. Do you remember being present at any time at Hillier's in the same month of April, on the 25th of April?

A. On the 25th of April I was at Hillier's; there were present a person whose name I afterwards was told was Wickfly.

Q. Where is Hillier's house?

A. No. 80 or 81, Bishopsgate-street; I was told his name afterwards was a Mr. Hicksly, and two other persons, one of whom appeared much in liquor, the rest were sober, and there was a man of the name of Bennett, the secretary to the 16th and 5th divisions,

Q. Was there a person there who was a mercer by business?

A. Yes, that was Bennett,

Q. Were there some other persons present?

A. There were those I have stated; Hillier was present; the conversation was begun by this person, whose name Hillier informed me was Wickfly; he said he had received a letter from Sheffield, which informed him that they had a numerous meeting and had determined to petition no more for a Parliamentary Reform; he likewise said, that this letter contained the drawing of some knives which were making there, of a particular construction, for cutting of reins; the letter contained a drawing, with this observation—these are the instruments we shall soon use.

Q. What were they stated to be for?

A. To be fixed against the end of poles, and to be used against the military.

Q. What were the knives for?

A. For cutting the reins.

Q. Cutting the reins of what?

A. I do not recollect whether he particularly explained that.

Q. It

Q. It was stated that those instruments were to act against the military?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you mean stated in terms, or that you collected that?

A. It was stated in terms; it was further said, the principal dependance of the society was in securing the Royal Family, and both Houses of Parliament.

One of the Jury. What date was this?

A. On the 25th of April; he further said, if they could resist the first shock, there would be no danger to be apprehended afterwards.

Q. If who could resist the first shock?

A. I considered it to be the members of the different societies; if they could resist the first shock from the army, that there would be no fear afterwards.

Q. Did they give any reason why the first shock being resisted, there would be no fear afterwards?

A. They said the Royal Family being secured, the army would have no head to look up to, and would be glad to accept the additional pay that would be offered them.

Q. Who was that additional pay to be offered by?

A. I understood by the societies.

Q. Do you remember any observation that Hillier made upon that additional pay being offered to the army with respect to the comparison of sixpence a-day with any other sum?

A. There was something said, I believe it was eighteen-pence; that the men would not fight for sixpence a-day if they could have eighteen-pence—I think it was, but I am not positive to the sum.

Q. Whether any of the persons present at the time that these observations were made, and these facts stated, made any objection to them?

A. None; but I think it is proper to state that one person was very much in liquor and took no part in that conversation.

Q. Those who conversed were not in liquor?

A. No.

Q. Those to whom the observations were addressed, except the one who took no part, were they sober?

A. Perfectly

A. Perfectly sober.

Q. Did any one make any observation that had a tendency to repress this conversation?

A. One of them, Bennett, went out with me into the street, and his conversation was so violent, and he spoke so loud, that I was obliged to check him, and told him the people in the street were hearing him.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Baxter?

A. I do.

Q. Was he a member of the London Corresponding Society?

A. I have seen him at divisions.

Q. At other times since that, have you heard any observation from Hillier or Baxter, upon the subject of arming?

A. On the 9th of May was the most material conversation I had with Baxter, that was at Hillier's house; he said he had been with an officer who had been lately——

Q. Who were the persons present besides Baxter?

A. Baxter, this Bennet, Hillier, a man whose name I was told was Hill, and some other persons, whose names I do not know; were present during a part of this conversation; Baxter stated, that he had been with Mr. Joyce, who was secretary to Earl Stanhope; Mr. Joyce told him there was no danger to be apprehended from Stone, that Stone had too much firmness to let them get any thing out of him by intimidation.

Q. Who were you speaking of by the name of Stone?

A. A person I understood who was confined in Newgate.

Q. Did you understand he had been examined before his Majesty's Privy Council.

A. I understood that he was committed upon a charge of High Treason; we had some conversation about Hamilton Rowan's escape; he said, Earl Stanhope's speech was to be printed, with an addition, which was to be very cautiously put in; he said, the Committee of Correspondence and Co-operation were preparing an address to the army, with some strong resolutions; he said, that prudent and determined men were wanted to propagate the opinions contained in those resolutions,

Q. Were they wanted to propagate them?

A. He

A. He stated, that one Moore had been particularly active and successful in getting over the army.

Q. Did he tell you what description of the army he had been more successful with than the other?

A. He said, they had most to fear from the young recruits; they had succeeded best with the old soldiers in Westminster; he said, if one third of the army was got over, the other two thirds would not act with spirit against them; he then asked me if I knew any person who would buy a pike.

Q. Who are you speaking of now?

A. Baxter.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Who was it said all this?

A. Baxter.

Mr. Garrow. Did he mention any thing with respect to his interview with the officers?

A. Yes, he said that the officers had made use of an expression not fit to be repeated, and asked him why he did not blow them all up together; he said the officer had been lately presented to the Queen upon his promotion.

Q. You think it an indecent expression?

A. It is as applied to such a person as him; he said, that the officer had asked Baxter why they did not blow up the whole family together; he then asked me if I knew any friends who would purchase a pike; I said I should have no objection to purchase one, but that it would be of no use unless I knew how to use it; he said, if I went either the Thursday or the Friday following, and made use of his name at the sign of the Parrot, in Green-Arbour-court, in the Old-Bailey; I was to ask for one Edwards, that he would be called out to me, and I was then to tell him that Baxter had sent me, and then I was to have a pike, and I should be introduced to others, who would learn the use of them with me, and that Edwards was very clever at the use of it, and would assist us in learning; he stated, that pikes were much cheaper than muskets, and that it would be impossible for the number to procure muskets on account of the expence. There is another circumstance, he stated, that persons with muskets might do a great deal of mischief if they did not know properly the use of them; I made

an observation, that I thought we might have a Reform in Parliament without coming to blows; he said, is there one man in the society who believes a Parliamentary Reform is all we want—no, not one; he said, that many men of property had hitherto kept back on account of the sanguinary conduct of the French, but that they were now willing to come forward, as they were convinced that a revolution might be effected in a few hours; he said, for his own part, he did not wish the King, or any of his family, to lose their lives, but he thought they might go to Hanover; he said, it must be expected that some blood must be shed; some particular persons had offered such insults to the people, that human nature could not overlook; the conversation afterwards turned relative to Thelwall's having been indicted, in which there was nothing very material.

Q. Was Hillier present during the whole of this conversation of Baxter?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it pronounced in a way in which every person might hear?

A. They might; but I did not pay much attention to anything that fell from him, from this circumstance—that Baxter was one of the committee of Correspondence and Co-operation, I thought I should obtain most information from his conversation, therefore I attended more to him.

Q. Did he state whether any, and what number of pikes were ready at that time, at any place?

A. He said, that many thousand were making at Sheffield, that the heads were only to come from there, but that they were to be stocked in town.

Q. Did he give any caution with respect to conversing in the division-meeting, respecting the pikes, at that time?

A. He recommended that nothing of that should be mentioned at any of the division-meetings, till the new constitution should be adopted.

Q. The new constitution of the society?

A. Yes, of the society.

Q. Did he give any reason for the necessity of that caution?

A. Yes,

A. Yes, he said, because there were spies in the society.

Q. Was there any thing said in the course of this conversation with respect to the French Emigrants?

A. It was stated by Baxter, that it would be advisable to let those who were prisoners out, and, if the French Emigrants attempted to resist, they should share the fate of spies at Paris.

Q. What prisoners?

A. The French prisoners of war.

Q. Did he name any of those persons who had offered such insults to the people that human nature could not overlook?

A. He named several, I cannot recollect all; Mr. Pitt was one, Mr. Dundas another, and Mr. Reeves.

Q. And other persons?

A. Yes.

Q. In the course of that evening, did you return to your home in company with Baxter?

A. I went part of the way home with Baxter.

Q. Did he, in the course of your going home, enlarge upon any of the subjects you had been conversing about?

A. I understood that the purpose of their address to the army, was to excite a jealousy between our troops and the French Emigrants, which were forming into regiments; he stated the means that Moore had used to get over some of the army; that he had told them that by their oath they were to fight for their King and country, but when the King and country were at variance, they had a right to fight on which side they pleased.

Q. Did he state to you any of the other arguments that Moore had used with the army?

A. He recommended that I should mix with them, treat them with beer, and enlarge upon the severity of their usage and the smallness of their pay; but I must first sound their principles, and if I found them Aristocrats, then I must not go on.

Q. In the course of the evening, when this conversation was had, was Hillier's pike produced?

A. I do not recollect that it was.

Q. Was it produced at any time when any of those persons were present with you?

A. It

A. It was produced after that, at another meeting, on the 16th of May.

Q. Where was that meeting at?

A. At Hillier's.

Q. This is not a division meeting, but the meeting of some few members?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were the persons present upon the 16th?

A. I believe I am wrong in point of date; it was on the 17th of May.

Mr. Garrow. The Attorney-General suggests to me, whether it is possible that I should go into any examination respecting facts which took place after the prisoner was in custody?

Lord Chief Baron Macdonald. When was he taken up?

Mr. Garrow. On the 12th of May.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. No, I think it would not be proper.

Mr. Garrow. Then we do not wish to examine as to any facts which have happened subsequent; I have at present confined my examination to facts prior to his being taken into custody. Do you recollect the circumstance of Mr. Hardy's being apprehended?

A. I do.

Q. Had you any conversation with respect to admission to the House of Commons? If that was after Hardy was apprehended, I do not enquire into it.

A. It was after.

Q. Do you remember a paper being distributed with respect to the Ins and the Outs?

A. I do.

Q. Where was that distributed?

A. At the meeting at the Coach and Horses, in Hatton-garden.

Q. Was that before Mr. Hardy was apprehended?

A. It was after the apprehension of Mr. Hardy.

Q. With respect to all these circumstances that you collected from time to time, you communicated them to Mr. Wickham, the magistrate, and with his approbation attended these meetings?

A. I did.

Q. And

Q. And attended them for the express purpose of giving this information?

A. I did.

Edward Gosling.

Cross examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. What is your Christian name?

A. Edward.

Q. Edward Gosling?

A. Yes.

Q. Are your father and mother living?

A. Yes.

Q. What are you by employment, or trade?

A. At present I am employed by Mr. Wickham.

Q. I am not calling you to an account for any general employment, if you are an honest man in the execution of it; do you mean employed in this business?

A. Yes, and in writing too; I was employed before this business by Mr. Colquhoun, in writing.

Q. What sort of writing?

A. Both in his private business and on his public business.

Q. Mr. Colquhoun is an attorney, is he?

A. No, a Magistrate in Worship-street.

Q. When did you begin writing for him?

A. About September last, but that was only occasionally.

Q. What way of life had you been in before that?

A. Before that I kept a broker's shop.

Q. Was you a dealer in naval stores; I am not asking any question you can object to, was you a dealer in naval stores?

A. I never in my life, upon my oath, to my knowledge, bought a store that ever was the property of his Majesty, if that is what you mean?

Mr. Erskine. I should have no right to ask that question.

A. I know the reason for which it was put; and it is a question which, if I was not conscious of my innocence, I had no right to answer, but as I knew I could safely do it, I thought it proper to answer.

Q. Then, perhaps, you have never said to any body the direct contrary of what you are saying now to me?

A. I did say the direct contrary; I was asked by Mr. Worship, when I went to buy a print, what I was? and what my address was? as I conceived he would not let me have the print if I told him I was with a Magistrate, I told him I dealt in naval stores.

Q. Did you never say to any body that you dealt in naval stores; and that you should think no more of cheating the King than of guillotining him?

A. Never to my knowledge, I will swear positively, I never mentioned the word guillotining the King.

Q. Did you never say to any body, upon your oath, that you lived by smuggling, and cheating the King in his stores?

A. Never upon my oath.

Q. Have you always gone by the name of Gosling?

A. I have not; and as means were yesterday used to deter me from giving evidence, I am willing to explain them, and am willing to explain why I went by another name; as I find every advantage is wished to be taken of me, I trust the mercy of the Court will not suffer any improper question to be put to me?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. As to any question which tends to accuse you of any crime, not immediately connected with this matter, I will protect you, but at the same time keep your temper, attend to the question, and give it a direct answer.

Mr. Erskine. I have treated you with civility I am sure.—Did you ever go by the name of Douglas?

A. I did.

Q. When did you first assume the name of Douglas?

A. I believe, as much as ten years since.

Q. How long did you continue the name of Douglas?

Gosling. I would wish to relate the circumstances under which I took that name.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You had better answer the question.

A. I carried on the business of a hair-dresser in that name, for I believe pretty near seven years.

Q. Where did you reside?

A. In Westminster.

Q. Where in Westminster?

A. In Petty France, No. 3.

Q. When did you first come to live in Petty France, No. 3, as a hair-dresser, by the name of Douglas?

A. It is about ten years since, I do not know that I could state exactly the time, I believe, it must be about the year 1784.

Q. I am not very particular as to dates, I do not want to be in any of your secrets, if there can be any reason in the world for your not chusing to answer me.—Had you any particular reason for changing your name?

A. I will state my reason, my father had a shop of business in the city, his business was chiefly in the wig and shaving way, for improvement I wished to go to the west end of the town. I went and worked with a man, whose name was Penton, in Bloomsbury, for improvement; it was, perhaps, from false pride I did not chuse it to be known that I was working as a journeyman, when my father kept four or five men; and as for taking the name of Douglas I took it from a play-bill.

Q. I have no objection to a decent pride, you took a very good name.—It struck you in a moment to take the name of Douglas from a play-bill.

A. That was the reason that struck me at that time, and I had no thought of continuing under that name.

Q. Pray how long did you play this part of Douglas.

A. I continued near seven years in that name, and it was from this circumstance.—

Q. Do you know a Mr. Lincoln?

A. I do, I did not recollect him, but I wish to state some circumstance.

Q. Please to answer my question first, you know Mr. Lincoln?

A. I do.

Q. Who is Mr. Lincoln?

A. Mr. Lincoln I understand to be something to Mr. Macnamara, he collects rents for him, I believe.

Q. Did you at any time, I am not asking you any thing that is imininal, did you at any time borrow any money of him?

A. I

A. I did, and will state the circumstances if you please.

Q. How long ago is it that you borrowed any money, and what sum of him?

A. I am upon my oath, I do not know the particular sum, nor cannot state the particular time, I believe it is four or five years ago.

Q. Was it ten guineas?

A. Ten pound, or guineas, I do not know which?

Q. Did you give him a note for it.

A. Yes, in the name of George Douglas, part of which I paid, part my wife paid, and the remainder he has been since paid.

Q. When did you pay part of it yourself?

A. I cannot state the time.

Q. Did not Mr. Lincoln come into the London Coffee-house by mere accident, where the witnesses for the Crown are, I believe, provided with what is fit for them to have, and saw you there, and said how do you do Douglas?

A. Permit me to explain, that that was not the way; that would carry a different construction from the manner in which it was done. Mr. Macnamara first came himself, whom I never had seen; he asked me questions; I told him a staircase there with a man I had never seen, was not a place to enter into an explanation upon the subject.

Q. I am not speaking about Mr. Macnamara, but asking what passed when Mr. Lincoln came into the London Coffee-house?

A. I was from Mr. Macnamara's conduct to me so confused that I hardly knew what I said.

Q. Mr. Macnamara had been there before, and had behaved in such a manner that you was so flurried that you did not know what you said to Mr. Lincoln when he came in?

A. I declare, I did not recollect Mr. Lincoln's person, having never seen him but once or twice in my life.

Q. But you recollect what you said to me, not two minutes ago; that Mr. Macnamara had been there before, and had behaved in such a manner, that when Mr. Lincoln came you were

so confused, from Mr. Macnamara's conduct, that you hardly knew what you said?

A. I certainly did say so.

Q. He said to you, how do you do Douglas?

A. He did not. When he came up he asked me first what my name was? I said Edward Gosling; said he, did you never go by any other name? did not you rent a house of me? my name is Macnamara; I said this is not a place proper for explanation; he said I came out of humanity to you,—you know you gave a note to Mr. Lincoln, some part of which is not paid, and I only came out of humanity to you to inform you, that when you appear in evidence this will be brought forward.

Q. What would be brought forward?

A. This note would be produced. I told him I had not the money. I offered Mr. Lincoln the money afterwards.

Q. Did you know where Mr. Lincoln lived in the interval, between the time when you borrowed the money from him and to the time you saw Mr. Macnamara and Mr. Lincoln, at the London Coffee-house.

A. I knew where he lived at the time I borrowed it; I do not know whether Mr. Lincoln had moved or not.

Q. Had you seen him in the interval?

A. I paid a part of the money, and my wife paid another part of it. It was to be paid by installments.

Q. Let me ask an explanation of something, which I confess I did not understand; how came you to say, to Mr. Worship, that you dealt in naval stores?

A. Because I thought, that would preclude all enquiry; because I did not chuse to give him my address; because I thought if he found I was with Mr. Wickham, he would refuse then to let me have what I wanted.

Mr. Attorney-General. Do you mean Worship the engraver?

A. Yes; I saw he suspected I was not friendly to their cause.

Mr. Erskine. Who is Mr. Worship?

A. A Secretary of a division of the Corresponding Society.

Q. Did you never make use of the expressions that I asked you

to before, that you cared no more for cheating the King than the expression I stated before ?

A. Never in my my life.

Q. I ask you, upon your oath, whether many of these expressions, which you have been stating to night, you did not make use of yourself, and endeavour to excite those people to do the things that you have been relating of them, and was reprimanded by them repeatedly for it ?

A. Never.

Q. Upon no one occasion ?

A. The only thing I ever did, I will state: that, on the Tuesday, after the apprehension of Hardy, I mentioned what had passed at the division, in Compton-street, relative to the Committee of Emergency, and to know whether it was their intention to do the same.

Q. I ask you, upon your oath, whether you were not in the constant course of using inflammatory expressions, which I won't repeat, going from one society to another using inflammatory expressions, to excite those people to say to you things which you wanted them to say ?

A. I never wished, and do not to my knowledge know, that I ever used any one expression of the kind ; in some respects I may have appeared to have approved of their proceedings with the view which was my sole design. I did not wish to lead Baxter on, nor did I find fault with him, from this circumstance, that as I had reason to believe, that arms were secreted, and it was my wish to discover where they were, that they might be found, and the mischief prevented.

Q. It was natural you should say nothing if you went with a view of discovering that which was dangerous to the public.— But I ask you, whether you did not go about from place to place using the most inflammatory expressions,

A. I never did,

Q. You say that positively ?

A. Yes,

Q. That you never did use inflammatory expressions of the sort, that you have been mentioning ?

A. No.

Q. Do I understand you to swear positively then, that you never made use of any inflammatory expressions, when I put you in mind of some of them now.—Why do not the society learn the use of arms, it would be of great use, there is nothing to be done without arms?

A. I never made use of such an expression ever.

Q. Nor never made use of any expression of that nature, to excite any of the people at the societies to believe you would do mischief of any sort.

A. No, never to my knowledge, I never used any inflammatory expression, or any means to excite them to disturbance, or any means whatever.

Q. Now go to your notes and tell me what days, and at what places you attended in the prosecution of that which was extremely laudable, if it was honest, the times and the places.—But before I trouble you with that, do you know a Mrs. Coleman?

A. I do not.

Mr. Erskine. Look across to the Jury.

A. I do not know a Mrs. Coleman now.

Q. Did you ever know a Mrs. Coleman?

A. I did.

Q. Had you any dealings of any sort with her?

A. Certainly, she rented a shop of me.

Q. Had you no dealings of any other sort? I am not putting a question of any immoral nature.

A. Certainly I had business, she rented a shop of me.

Q. Is that all?

A. She died at my house, and I buried her.

Q. Did she leave any will?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did she leave her property to?

A. Her property was partly left to one Burroughs, and partly to one James Leech.

Q. Who made the will?

A. I wrote it.

Q. Do you know Mrs. Biffin?

A. I

A. I do not.

Q. You was very ill used about that business, in which you had done nothing but that which was right?

Gosling. How ill used?

Mr. Erskine. I mean you got into some dispute and trouble about it.

A. None at all, I was in no trouble about it.

Q. There was no complaint made against you of any sort?

A. There was no just cause of complaint.

Q. I do not ask whether there was any just cause of complaint, but was there any complaint made against you by any body upon the subject?

A. I cannot say I recollect the particular circumstances that might pass, there was a brother by a former husband who came up out of the country.

Q. Do not understand me to be doing so improper a thing as to be imputing any crime to you, and to ask you to reveal it, far from it, I only ask whether any body was wicked enough to make any complaint of your conduct in that case?

A. I do not know that there was any complaint.

Q. Will you swear there was none—upon your oath, was there no complaint made against you upon the subject of this will?

A. I cannot tell what complaints may have been made.

Q. Upon your oath, was there not a complaint made against you, to your knowledge, for fabricating this will?

A. Never, that I know of.

Q. Will you swear that?

A. I will swear I never heard any such thing.

Q. Who was Mr. Leech?

A. A man who was formerly an apprentice, and kept a shop nearly opposite, who set up in opposition to me.

Q. In what trade?

A. In the same business of a hair-dresser.

Q. And that woman died at your house and left her property to him?

A. I did not say she left her property to him.

Q. I asked you to whom she left her property ?

A. I told you to be divided equally between a person of the name of Burroughs, at Edmonton, and a James Leech.

Q. Was that James Leech your rival opposite ?

A. No.

Q. Who was that James Leech to whom this woman left this money ?

A. A son of my wife's,

Q. Who was Burroughs, who was that other person ?

A. A cousin of her's, or some such thing.

Q. What connection had you with the woman ?

A. I had no connection, any further than rendering her every service in my power, during a long illness, in which I was at considerable expence.

Q. How long had she lodged at your house ?

A. I cannot tell exactly,

Q. A year ?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Will you swear that she lived six months with you ?

A. I do not know the time,

Q. Was it two months ?

A. It was longer than that.

Q. Three months ?

A. Longer than that.

Q. Four months ?

A. I cannot state to a month.

Q. Was the will made by an attorney ?

A. It was not,

Q. By yourself ?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I to take you that you mean to swear now, that no complaint was made against you as having forged that will ?

A. I swear, that to the best of my knowledge or recollection, I never heard such a thing.

Q. Will you swear, positively, you never have been charged with it ; a man that is charged with a capital felony cannot forget it ?

A. I do

A. I do not recollect that ever I was.

Q. Good God! Do you mean to swear that you do not remember, whether you was charged with a capital felony or not?

A. I do not know that I ever was.

Q. Will you swear, positively, that no such charge was brought against you?

A. I can swear no further than, that to the best of my knowledge, it never was.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. A charge brought when and where, it may be a fact within his knowledge, or it may not.

Mr. Erskine. I am asking you whether there was not a complaint made, that you was charged in your own presence with having done it?

A. Never, to my knowledge.

Q. Am I to understand that there was not a complaint made in your presence against you for having forged that will?

A. I do not recollect that any person ever did.

Q. Wont you go the length of swearing that nobody ever did do so?

A. I can only speak to the best of my recollection and knowledge.

Mr. Garrow. I submit to your lordship that is the only answer a witness can make to such a question?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. There is no occasion for your interrupting the examination, probably, it is an answer, but he may be pressed to see whether he can answer farther or not.

Mr. Erskine. Whether any body ever charged you with it in your presence?

A. I never recollect that any person ever did.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Cox?

A. Yes; I know Mr. Cox, a cheesemonger.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I cannot exactly state how long I have dealt with him.

Q. Dealt with him in what?

A. In cheesemongery and butter, and things of that kind, and some hams,

Q. For

Q. For the use of your family ?

A. Yes; and to sell.

Q. I thought you were a hair-dresser; what, do you deal in hams ?

A. My wife kept a shop of that sort, and I dressed hair.

Q. Have you never had any other sort of dealings with Mr. Cox, than that which any man has with a fair tradesman that bought hams of him in the ordinary course of business ?

A. No.

Q. And you swear that, positively ?

A. I do not remember any thing else, if you name any particular charge, if it comes within my knowledge I will own it.

Mr. Erskine. I do not stand here to make charges.

Gosling. I purchased hams of him, and in some there were great holes filled up with mortar and stones.

Q. Then the hams were of a bad quality, filled up with mortar and stones ?

A. Some of them were.

Q. Then Mr. Cox, the cheesemonger, seems to have cheated you ?

A. Certainly; he did not use me well when I was ignorant in the business.

Q. Mr. Macnamara came in order to intimidate you from being a witness here ?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Consider whether it will be prudent to go into an examination upon that, if Mr. Macnamara has been so imprudent as to go into a Coffee-house, and talk to the witness, it would be at best an incautious thing for a gentleman to go where the Crown witnesses are, to enter into conversation with them; and, I think, it had better not be done, I hope no other gentleman will do it.

Mr. Erskine. I am sure he did not,

Mr. Garrow. I shall examine to it ?

Mr. Erskine. You will examine to it when I have done, I suppose ?

Am I to understand you to say, that you never dealt at all in stores, I do not mean to say dishonestly or improperly ?

Gosling,

Gossing. What kind of stores?

Mr. Erskine. Naval stores—ship stores.

A. I have purchased old cordage, bad packing, and such kind of things; but those I do not consider to come under the denomination of naval stores.

Q. What were the articles that you purchased?

A. What is commonly called hand-stuffing, used for making of paper.

Q. Did you never say, I do not ask you whether you did it, because I have no right to do that, but you never said that you was a dealer in raw materials; that the person you spoke to, asked you to explain it; and whether in answer to that you said that you attended the sale of his Majesty's stores at the Dock-yards, at Sheerness, and so on—that you were well acquainted with the Store-keepers, and that you generally bought them at a fifth of their value, by seeing the Store-keepers to condemn them?

A. I never said that—I will relate to you one circumstance upon which that is taken:—I wished to get information respecting them, and Mr. Colquhoun would give me credit for that, it was upon that very business I was taken into his employment to give intelligence respecting that—I understood from Hillier that he had a relation who was a Quarter-master there, and I wished, through his means, to obtain information for the service of government.

Q. Why you had a great deal upon your hands—you say you told him the same as Mr. Worship; you did not tell Mr. Worship that?

A. I told him I was a dealer in naval stores.

Q. But did you tell Mr. Worship that the way you dealt was by seeing the Store-keepers to condemn them?

A. No, I did not tell him that.

Q. When you was reprov'd for that, did you not justify your conduct, and say that you had followed the practice for years, and thought it no crime to cheat the King.

A. Never.

Q. Was it in the service of Mr. Colquhoun, that you bought that paper stuff and things?

A. I never

A. I never bought any paper stuff belonging to his Majesty in my life, upon my oath.

Q. But I ask you, was you both a dealer in stores yourself honestly; and was you employed as an informer to prevent other people being dishonest?

A. I never had, to my knowledge, any charge brought against me for dishonesty for it—I obtained every information I could to prevent children and other persons, that might be tempted to purloin things—the information was not given against any person, but merely hints to prevent pilfering—no person was accused upon that information, nor did I receive any reward for it.

Q. I do not comprehend you, explain to me what was the reason why you told Hillier you had been in the constant course of cheating government in that fashion?

A. I did not tell Hillier I had been in a constant course of cheating the King; he mentioned to me his having a relation a Quarter-master at the yards, and to whom he talked of sending some of the resolutions; I thought that from him, as it is the Quarter-master that puts up the stores, that I might obtain some information relative to those stores.

Q. Is that an answer to my question; I asked you why you told Mr. Hillier you were in the course of doing that which you have been now stating?

A. I did not tell him I had been in the course of cheating the King at all.

Q. Nor any thing to that effect?

A. I only told him that I was a dealer in naval stores, nothing further.

Q. Did you ever tell him that there were great quantities of copper conveyed out of the docks, and the manner in which it is conveyed out?

A. Never, the manner in which it is conveyed out.

Q. Whether you did not tell him the copper was conveyed out of the Dock-yards in butter firkins?

A. No; I have given information to Mr. Colquhoun that copper has been sent away, but that was not from the King's stores; but supposed to be copper fraudulently conveyed away.

Q. I am asking you, whether you did not tell him you had been employed yourself in conveying away this copper ?

A. I never told him that I was employed, I wished to gain what information I could from him, and that was the sole purpose.

Q. Did you ever tell him that you was acquainted with a woman who lived somewhere about Tooley-street, and that there were twelve hundred weight found upon her premises ?

A. I told him I had heard such a seizure had been made, but I never saw the woman in my life ; I had heard of it, and merely related that I had heard that such a thing was the fact.

Q. Now I have nothing more to ask of you except the dates, which you will be so good as to give me with great correctness ; what was the first time that you attended any of those societies ?

A. The 15th of April ; upon the 14th, I was at a meeting at Chalk Farm ; I became a member on the 15th.

Q. You never saw the prisoner at any of those meetings ?

A. I should not know his person again ; I do not know that I did ?

Q. What part of the meeting was you in at Chalk Farm—was you in the room ?

A. No, out in the grounds in the crowd.

Q. On what day was you at any division meeting of the society ?

A. On the 15th of April.

Q. At what place ?

A. At the Hope, in Northampton-street.

Q. What was the next time ?

A. The Monday following, I believe.

Q. I wish you to be correct ?

A. I do not know that, I have not every paper with me.

Q. But such papers as you have, that will furnish me with dates, let me have them ?

A. On Monday following, I was at Morris's, in Brick-lane.

Q. What number of persons were there at that time ?

A. About twenty-five or twenty-six, I suppose.

Q. You did not know their persons ?

A. I knew

A. I knew the persons of some of them.

Q. Be so good as to name them?

A. Bennet and Hillier, there were other persons, Captain Williams, I believe, was there, an American.

Q. And about twenty-four or twenty-five persons; now what was the next night?

A. On the Tuesday following, I was at the Hope.

Q. Were Hillier and Bennett there?

A. Hillier was there.

Q. How many persons might be present there?

A. About seven or eight and twenty.

Q. I understand you to say the conversations, you have been relating, were not accidental ones, but that it was the general scope of the conversation almost every night?

A. That night at Morris's I did not hear any thing about arming.

Q. When did you hear about arming?

A. The 22d was the night when the delegate Wright made that observation, and the answer was given by Gordon, the secretary.

Q. What was the next night upon which you heard any of those abominable expressions which you have sworn to here?

A. On the 29th of April, there was a conversation about arming.

Q. On what night, and at what place was that horrible expression made use of concerning the King?

A. That was not at a division, that was at Hillier's house.

Q. What was the date of that?

A. That was the 25th of April.

Q. Who were present?

A. A man whose name I was told was Hicksley, (who introduced the subject by saying, he had received a letter from Sheffield,) Hillier, Bennett, another person, whose name I do not know, and another man who appeared to be in liquor.

Q. Are you prepared to swear positively, that you heard those expressions which you have sworn to?

A. I have already sworn them, and they are true.

Q. And

Q. And you stick to that?

A. I do.

Q. Where was you upon the 29th?

A. At the Hope.

Q. Who were present at the Hope?

A. There were two divisions met there that night, No. 11, and No. 6.

Q. What number were there of each?

A. I suppose about forty or fifty persons together.

Q. Were there any expressions about arming that night?

A. There was a print proposed by Worship the engraver, and recommended to the use of the society.

Q. Was there any thing about arming for the purpose of threatening the King, or overturning the Government?

A. No expression of overturning the Government; but it was recommended to them to learn the use of arms.

Q. But was any particular purpose stated?

A. I do not recollect, that there was any particular purpose stated.

Q. At what time, besides the two you have spoken of, did you hear the expressions that you have related?

A. I have, at different times, of which I have not the dates, heard other people speaking of it, and approving of it.

Q. Do you mean members of the society?

A. Yes.

Q. What member?

A. Birks, the same I saw at Chalk Farm.

Q. What is his Christian name?

A. I do not know.

Q. What did Birks say to you?

A. I do not recollect the particular conversation, because I did not minute the words, therefore I will not attempt to swear to the conversation; I likewise heard a man of the name of Kelly, and likewise I heard Eaton talk of arming.

Q. It was an armed association of sixty people; but armed for those wicked purposes you have been talking of?

A. I heard Kelly say so, after the apprehension of Hardy.

Edward Gosling,

Re-examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. You said Worship produced an engraving at one of the meetings; cast your eye upon that paper; is that one of the engravings he produced? (*shewing the witness a copper-plate print of the manual exercise.*)

A. I believe this to be one of them; this was brought as a proof; it was to be published the next day; he brought it to the society, that they might see it.

Q. What have the soldiers got upon their heads?

A. He mentioned, that they were Sans Cullottes; and the caps on their heads were to be coloured red.

Q. This is an engraving of the manual exercise, and of platoon firing?

A. Yes.

Q. When you applied to him, lest he should suspect you were connected with a Magistrate, you told him you was a Dealer in Naval Stores?

A. I did.

Q. And afterwards, in the rest of the conversation, you kept up that representation?

A. I did.

Q. How long is it ago since you gave a note to Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Macnamara's Agent?

A. I cannot exactly state the time; about four or five years.

Q. Did you give it to Mr. Macnamara, or to Mr. Lincoln?

A. To Mr. Lincoln.

Q. How much was the amount?

A. Ten pounds, or ten guineas.

Q. How much, at this moment, is due upon that note?

A. I believe three guineas.

Q. Have you ever had any application from Mr. Macnamara, for the money, till after attending this Court, in virtue of his Majesty's writ of subpœna, and among the witnesses for the Crown?

A. I never

A. I never saw Mr. Macnamara in my life before yesterday, not to know him.

Q. I need hardly ask you, whether you had had any personal application from Mr. Macnamara, to pay this money?

A. Never.

Q. Had you had any application, upon his part, till you were subpoenaed as a witness?

A. I did not see him myself; I heard Mr. Lincoln had called upon me.

Q. How long ago?

A. Three or four years ago.

Q. Did Mr. Macnamara come to you alone?

A. I was sitting at dinner; a person came, and said, some person came to speak to me; I found Mr. Macnamara alone.

Q. He said he came out of humanity to you?

A. He said, that he was a man of property, and had a large estate in the country; that he was a friend to the King and Constitution; that he would see strict justice done; and he came out of humanity to me to let me know, that this would be produced against me in Court.

Q. If what?

A. He did not say what.

Q. Did Mr. Macnamara demand the money, or desire you to pay it?

A. He asked me, if I remembered the circumstance; I said it was an improper place to enter into an explanation; I did not know Mr. Macnamara's person; I told him, if he did, I must meet it in Court.

Q. You have been asked a vast number of questions, respecting Mrs. Coleman's will; was there any suit instituted to dispute the legality of that will?

A. None.

Q. Was there any prosecution for that which is called the forgery of it?

A. None.

Q. Was there ever, to your knowledge, any complaint made against you, that there was any thing foul in the transaction?

A. Not that I know of; the brother came to town, and appeared perfectly satisfied?

Q. Was it, upon your oath, a fair, honest transaction, as far as you had any thing to do with it; aye or no?

A. It was.

It now being Half past One o'Clock, on Friday Morning, the Court adjourned to Nine o'Clock.

C 37-1

SESSION HOUSE IN THE OLD BAILEY,

Friday, October the 31st, 1794.

PRESENT,

Lord Chief Justice EYRE;
Lord Chief Baron MACDONALD;
Mr. Baron HOTHAM;
Mr. Justice BULLER;
Mr. Justice GROSE;
And others his Majesty's Justices, &c.

Thomas Hardy set to the bar.

Mr. Attorney General. Your Lordship will recollect, that Mr. Gosling, last night, spoke of a conversation, in Newgate, at which persons of the names of Roussel and Hillier were present. We are now going to prove, that Roussel was a Member of the London Corresponding Society, with a view to produce some papers found upon him.

Mr. John Gurnell called.

Q. Did you find that paper?

A. Yes; I found it at Mr. Hardy's house.

[*It was read.*]

" 12th July, 1792.

" Division 37, Number 47, Mr. Roussel, No. 4, Shepherd-
" street, New Bond-street."

Mr. Bernard Bailey (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Attorney General.*

Q. Look at that book, (*shewing the witness a pamphlet, entitled, "Explanation of an Engraving of the Manual Exercise, and Platoon Firing;"*) has that your hand-writing upon it?

A. It has,

B b 2

Q. Where

Q. Where did you find that ?

A. I found it in Mr. Rouffel's apartment.

Q. Look at that song ? (*showing it to the witness.*)

A. This has my hand-writing on it ; I found this in Mr. Rouffel's apartment.

Q. Where was Rouffel's apartment ?

A. In George-street, Black-friars ; Rouffel was present at the time.

Mr. Bernard Bailey,

Cross-examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. Who was with you, when you found these papers ?

A. John Coomber, an officer.

Q. Who desired you to go ?

A. Mr. Wickham, a Magistrate,

Q. When did you find them ?

A. On the 19th of May.

Mr. Gibbs. I submit to your Lordship, that, according to the rule laid down yesterday, the song is not evidence, being found after Mr. Hardy was taken up.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I wish it had been observed before.

Mr. Gibbs. I wish it had ; but I did not know it till I came to the cross-examination of the witness.

[The Court ordered the Song to be struck out of the evidence.]

Mr. Attorney General. I submit to your Lordship, that the book must be evidence ; because the book, your Lordship sees, is an explanation of the engraved plate, which has been produced, and which was found before the prisoner was in custody.

Mr. Gibbs. How do I know, that this was not printed after the apprehension of Mr. Hardy ?

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The other was found before;—the material objection is, that this may have been printed afterwards;—it was found afterwards, and there is no evidence of its existence before; therefore it must be rejected, unless you are prepared to shew, that the printing existed before.

Mr. Attorney General. The papers I am now going to produce were found, one in the custody of Mr. Martin, the other of Mr. Thelwall; they were found in their custody certainly after the prisoner was apprehended, but they bear date in April, 1794; and they appear, upon the face of them, to have been prepared for the Chalk Farm Meeting.

Mr. Gibbs. I only wish to have your Lordships opinion; I do not mean to take up the time of the Court; it seems to me, that there is certainly the same objection to this paper, as to those which were offered before, of whatever date they may be, unless they can prove, either that they were in the possession of the prisoner, or of some Member of the London Corresponding Society, before he was apprehended, or that he put that date to them; the circumstance and bearing of the date certainly is not evidence.

Mr. Attorney General. Supposing the objection to be well founded, which I do not admit, I believe I can prove, that the paper had an actual existence in the month of April, 1794.

Mr. Gibbs. Prove they existed in the possession of some Member of the London Corresponding Society.

Mr. Attorney General. I will prove, that they existed in the possession of Mr. Martin.

Mr. John Groves (sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Were you present at the Globe Tavern, in the Strand, on the 20th of January, 1794?

A. I was.

Q. At a General Meeting of the London Corresponding Society?

A. It was.

Q. Was you a member of that society?

A. No, not at that time.

Q. When did you become a member of that society?

A. Very early in the month of February.

Q. Did you make any observations of the proceedings which took place on the 20th of January, 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. What was your inducement to become a member of that society?

A. I was desired so to do.

Q. You became a member for the purpose of discovering their proceedings?

A. I was desired by a particular gentleman to go there for that purpose, whose name I will mention, if you chuse it.

Q. There is no occasion for mentioning the name, relate as well as you can what passed on the 20th of January, 1794, at the Globe Tavern?

A. There was a very great assembly of people there, and I believe Mr. Martin was called to the chair, who read an address, and I believe a Mr. Ritcher afterwards read it over again.

Q. Do you recollect any particular toast that was drank upon that occasion?

A. I do not recollect any particular toast now, but a great number were read, and by the paper that was printed I should be able to refresh my memory.

Q. You have no paper that you had at the time?

A. I have none.

Q. Do you recollect any conversation held by any of the members of that society at that meeting—what was the language?

A. In general the language was universal suffrage and annual parliaments; they were met for that purpose.

Q. Was it mentioned in that society by what means those objects were to be obtained?

A. Not that day; I heard nothing that day about the means.

Q. Did you hear at any subsequent meeting any conversation

with

with any member of the Corresponding Society by what means that object was to be obtained?

A. I always understood that they were to be obtained——

Mr. Gibbs. We don't mind what you always understood, relate what any body said.

Mr. Law. What was publicly professed in any of the meetings of that society to be the object and the means?

A. By enlightening the minds of the lower orders of the people, to give them opportunities of instruction; that they might know what the natural freedom of all mankind was.

Q. Did they say how they were to carry into effect that purpose?

A. By the distribution of certain papers calculated for their understandings.

Mr. Gibbs. Does your lordship think that this sort of examination ought to go on without mentioning the name of any person from whom it came; it is, your lordship sees, utterly impossible for us to have an opportunity of contradicting this kind of evidence.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If he knows who the persons were who mentioned these particulars he is now stating, he ought to give their names; if he does not know the names of the persons, he should state it as being said by persons of that society.

Mr. Law. Do you recollect any conversation held by persons whom you recollect to have been members of the London Corresponding Society respecting the means by which these objects were to be obtained?

A. I cannot recollect any particular person; but I may venture to say it was the general voice of the society.

Q. Did you hear any thing publicly expressed in the society about arms?

A. No, never.

Q. Was you present at any lecture of Mr. Thelwall's?

A. I have two or three times been there.

Q. What was the sort of exhortation, the object of those lectures?

A. That is a matter of opinion I believe, if I am allowed to give my opinion upon those lectures I will.

Q. I am not asking your opinion of their general tendency, but what was the substance of them?

A. It was a general abuse of administration altogether.

Q. Did he speak of the branches of the legislature?

A. Certainly, in their respective capacities.

Q. In what manner did he represent them?

A. In every way that was truly ridiculous.

Q. In what manner did he speak of his majesty?

A. In terms of contempt.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What were those terms of contempt?

A. I have heard him make use of the word Solomon.

Q. Did you ever hear him speak of the House of Lords and speak of the utility or inutility of that branch of legislature?

A. I have.

Q. What did he say about the House of Lords?

A. He said that it was an aristocratic branch that swallowed up almost every other function of the government.

Q. Did he recommend the abolition of any of those parts?

A. A new *modellation* he recommended.

Q. In what manner did he recommend them to be new modelled?

A. By the general sense of the country.

Q. How to be taken?

A. By annual parliaments and universal suffrage.

Q. Did he recommend any particular means of obtaining those annual parliaments?

A. If I understood him right, his meaning was—

Q. Did you ever hear him mention a convention?

A. Yes, by calling together the whole body of the people.

Q. Did he recommend that measure?

A. He certainly did.

Q. He recommended a convention for the purpose of new modelling the government and obtaining annual parliaments and universal suffrage?

A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Was you present at Chalk Farm?

A. I was.

Q. On what day was you there?

A. If I recollect right, the 14th of April.

Q. Was there a very large assembly of persons there?

A. There was a very large assembly of persons there.

Q. Do you know the persons of any present?

A. I do now know, I was not then sufficiently acquainted to describe them, but since I have had means of knowledge.

Q. Do you know the prisoner?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he among the persons present?

A. He was.

Q. Who was in the chair?

A. I believe a man of the name of Lovett.

Q. What passed at that meeting?

A. There was a letter read from a society called the Friends of the People, which letter contained——

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. No matter, you must not state the contents of the letter.

Mr. Law. State any conversation and transactions at that meeting which you recollect by any persons whom you have since known to be members of the London Corresponding Society, what was proposed to be done there?

A. The proposal was, that there should be an address.

Q. Have you no other recollection of what you heard read or spoken?

A. If I may be allowed to look at a paper I have in my pocket.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. If he can speak to any particulars that happened there beyond the address, and what is contained in the address, to be sure it will be proper to examine him to it; I believe the address is in evidence.

Mr. Attorney-General. It has not yet been read, but I am going to read it.

Mr.

Mr. Law. Were any printed papers delivered at that meeting?

A. There were:

Q. Have you any of them?

A. I have. (*produces a copy*)

It was read.

*" At a General Meeting of the London Corresponding Society,
" held on the Green, at Chalk Farm, on Monday the 14th of
" April, 1794, J. LOVETT in the Chair, the following letters
" were read:*

" To the Chairman of the Society of the Friends of the People.

" Sir,

*" At a crisis so important as the present there needs no apology
" on the part of the 'London Corresponding Society,' for address-
" ing itself to all other associated Societies, who have in view the
" same object as themselves.*

*" To the 'Society of the Friends of the People,' arguments are
" not wanting to shew the importance and absolute necessity of a
" full and fair Representation of the People of Great Britain.
" They have investigated the subject for themselves; they have
" exposed to the world a series of plain and indisputable facts,
" which must excite in the mind of every man well disposed to
" his country, apprehensions of alarm for the security of the few
" remaining vestiges of Liberty, from which, as Britons, we de-
" rive consolation.*

*" Deeply impressed with considerations of this nature, the
" London Corresponding Society earnestly solicits, at this time,
" the concurrence and assistance of the Society of the Friends of
" the People, in assembling, as speedily as the nature of the bu-
" siness will admit, a Convention of the Friends of Freedom, for
" the purpose of obtaining, in a legal and constitutional method, a
" full and effectual representation.*

*" Our request is not made from the impressions of the moment,
" but after the maturest deliberations on the value and import-
" ance of the object for which we are contending, and of the
" difficulties*

“ difficulties we may expect from those whose present interests
 “ render them hostile to the welfare of their country.

“ The opposition of such persons is no small argument for the
 “ goodness of our cause; and their late conduct when compared
 “ with their former professions, exhibits a depravity, unparallel-
 “ ed, we trust, on the page of history.

“ Under the auspices of apostate reformers, we have lately be-
 “ held serious and alarming encroachments on the Liberties of
 “ the People.

“ We have seen with indignation and horror men *legally* and
 “ *peaceably* assembled, dispersed by unconstitutional powers, and
 “ their papers seized.

“ We have seen some of our most virtuous brethren, whose
 “ only crime has been an imitation of Mr. PITT, and his asso-
 “ ciates, sentenced to fourteen years transportation, without the
 “ sanction of law or even of precedent, of which number, one
 “ was held up in the British Parliament as *convicted* and *con-*
 “ *demned*, before he was even put upon his trial.

“ The insidious attempts also to introduce foreign troops into
 “ this country, without the consent of parliament, and the in-
 “ tended bill to embody foreigners into his Majesty's service, are
 “ measures sufficiently calculated to awaken our fears for the ex-
 “ istence even of the name of Liberty. Nor can we overlook that
 “ part of the present system of corruption, which maintains out of
 “ the public plunder, a train of spies, more dangerous to society
 “ than so many assassins, whose avowed business is to destroy the
 “ friends of the country, one by one.

“ These are grievances which demand immediate redress, and
 “ when added to those evils which are necessarily connected with
 “ every *partial* representation of the People, call for the strenuous
 “ exertions of every lover of his country.

“ But we are told that the present is not the time for Reform,
 “ and that innovation may introduce disturbance. Are those
 “ persons to judge of the proper time to make Reform, who exist
 “ only by corruption? Are the People of Britain to endure
 “ every thing without repining, without ardently seeking a radical
 “ Reform, because disturbances *may* happen? Have the enemies

“ to

" to Reform told us whence these disturbances are to originate?
 " Has a single overt act been committed by the friends to Free-
 " dom? Have not all the riots, all the public disturbances, all
 " the seditious assemblies been excited by the enemies to Reform?
 " And do they mean to tell us that they will still find other in-
 " struments for their wicked designs; that they have yet those
 " who will act over again the outrages that have been perpe-
 " trated in some parts of Britain, and attempted in others?

" If such is the determination of those persons *hostile* to a *fair*
 " Representation, *let them look to the consequences*, but let them
 " recollect that it has happened, and may happen again, that those
 " who kindled the flames have perished by them.

" The friends to *Reform* are friends to *Peace*, their principles
 " can be promoted only by peaceable means, they know of no
 " other method of obtaining the object they desire. But they
 " will not be alarmed by the threats of *venal apostates*, they will
 " not draw back because they have seen some of their best
 " friends doomed to exile. They will pursue the course in
 " which they have begun, and turn neither to the right nor to
 " the left.

" Convinced as the London Corresponding Society is, that as
 " there is no Power which *ought*, so there is no Power which *can*
 " finally withstand the just and steady demands of a People re-
 " solved to be Free; they will therefore look with confidence to
 " the *determination*, and they hope to the *co-operation of the 'So-*
 " *ciety of the Friends of the People,'* in the attainment of an object
 " which involves the dearest interests of society.

" Convinced also that their intentions are of the purest kind,
 " they will never stoop to answer the calumnies of their enemies;
 " but will at all times, and in all circumstances, endeavour, by
 " firmness and perseverance, to deserve the countenance and ap-
 " probation of the best friends of their country, *the friends of a*
 " *fair Representation of the People of Great Britain.*

" I am, Sir,

" For the London Corresponding Society,

" April, 4, 1794.

" THOMAS HARDY, Sec."

" COM-

" COMMITTEE ROOM,

" Frith-street, April 11, 1794.

" Sir,

" Your letter of the 4th instant, addressed to Mr. SHERIDAN, Chairman of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, was laid before that SOCIETY at their Meeting on Saturday last; and they instructed their Committee to thank the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY for their communication, and to express the alarm they feel in common with every Friend of Liberty, at the late extraordinary proceedings of Government, so ably detailed, and so justly reprobated by your Society. They assure you that all the Friends of Reform, may 'look with confidence to the determination and co-operation' of this Society in every peaceable and constitutional measure, which shall appear to them calculated to promote the object of their institution; but they do not think that which is recommended in your letter, is likely to serve its professed purpose. They fear it will furnish the Enemies of Reform with the means of calumniating its Advocates, and so far from forwarding the cause, will deter many from countenancing that which they approve. For these reasons, the Friends of the People must decline to send Delegates to the Convention proposed by the London Corresponding Society: —At the same time, they renew their assurances of good will, and desire of preserving a proper understanding and cordiality among all the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, notwithstanding any difference of opinion that may occur as to the best method of accomplishing it.

" In the Name, and by Order, of the Committee,

(Signed) " W. BRETTON, Chairman."

" To Mr. T. HARDY, Secretary to the

" London Corresponding Society."

Mr. Law. Was that letter from the Friends of the People read there?

A. It was.

2. How was it received?

A. With

A. With universal silence, I believe, I do not recollect any approbation of it.

Q. Do you recollect any marks of the contrary?

A. Yes, there was some few fell a hissing.

The following RESOLUTIONS were then passed Unanimously :

“ Resolved Unanimously,

“ I. That this Society have beheld with rising indignation, proportioned to the enormity of the evil, the late rapid advances of despotism in Britain; the invasion of public security; the contempt of popular opinion; and the violation of all those provisions of the Constitution intended to protect the People against the encroachments of Power and Prerogative.

“ II. That our abhorrence and detestation have been particularly called forth by the late arbitrary and flagitious proceedings of the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, where all the doctrines and practices of the *Star Chamber*, in the times of Charles the First, have been *revived* and *aggravated*; and where sentences have been pronounced in open violation of all Law and Justice, which must strike deep into the heart of every man, the melancholy conviction that BRITONS ARE NO LONGER FREE.

“ III. That the whole Proceedings of the late British Convention of the People at Edinburgh, are such as claim our approbation and applause.

“ IV. That the conduct of Citizens MARGAROT and GERALD in particular, by its strict conformity with our wishes and instructions, and the ability, firmness, and disinterested Patriotism which it so eminently displayed, has inspired an enthusiasm of Zeal and Attachment which no time can obliterate, and no persecution remove; and that we will preserve their names engraven on our hearts till we have an opportunity to redress their wrongs.

“ V. That any attempt to violate those yet remaining Laws, which were intended for the Security of Englishmen against the Tyranny of Courts and Ministers, and the Corruption of
“ dependent

“ dependent Judges, by vesting in such Judges a legislative or
 “ arbitrary power, (such as has lately been exercised by the Court
 “ of Justiciary in Scotland) ought to be considered as dissolving
 “ entirely the social compact between the English Nation and
 “ their Governors; and driving them to an immediate appeal to
 “ that incontrovertible maxim of eternal Justice, *that the safety*
 “ *of the People is the SUPREME, and in cases of necessity, the*
 “ *ONLY Law,*

“ VI. That the arming and disciplining in this Country,
 “ either with or without the consent of Parliament, any Bands of
 “ *Emigrants and Foreigners, driven from their own Country for*
 “ *their known attachment to an INFAMOUS DESPOTISM, is an*
 “ outrageous attempt to *overawe and intimidate the free spirit of*
 “ Britons; to subjugate them to an army of *mercenary Cut-*
 “ *throats, whose views and interest must of necessity be in direct*
 “ *opposition to those of the Nation, and that no pretence what-*
 “ *ever OUGHT to induce the people to submit to so unconstitu-*
 “ *tional a measure.*

“ VII. That the unconstitutional project of raising money and
 “ troops by forced benevolences (and no benevolences collected
 “ upon requisition from the King or his Ministers can ever in
 “ reality be voluntary) and the equally unjustifiable measure of
 “ arming one part of the People against the other, brought
 “ Charles the First to the block, and drove James the Second and
 “ his posterity from the Throne; and that consequently Mini-
 “ sters in advising such Measures, ought to consider whether they
 “ are not guilty of High Treason.

“ VIII. That this Society have beheld with considerable plea-
 “ sure the *consistent respect* which the House of Lords displayed
 “ for their own Constitutional Rules and Orders, on the fourth of
 “ the present month, upon the motion of Earl Stanhope, con-
 “ cerning the interference of Ministers in the Internal Govern-
 “ ment of France; and that it is the firm conviction of this So-
 “ ciety, that this circumstance when properly detailed, will have
 “ a considerable effect in convincing the country at large, of the
 “ true dignity and utility of that branch of HIS MAJESTY’S
 “ PARLIAMENT.

“ IX. That

“ IX. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to EARL
 “ STANHOPE, for his manly and patriotic conduct during the
 “ present Session of Parliament; a conduct which (unsupported
 “ as it has been in the Senate, of which HE is so truly honourable
 “ a Member) has, together with the timely interference of cer-
 “ tain spirited and patriotic Associations, been nevertheless al-
 “ ready productive of the salutary effect of chasing the Hessian
 “ and Hanoverian Mercenaries from our Coasts; who, but for
 “ these exertions, might have been marched perhaps, ere this, into
 “ the very heart of the Country, together with others of their
 “ Countrymen, to have peopled the BARRACKS, which every
 “ where insult the Eyes of Britons,

“ X. That it is the firm conviction of this Society, that a
 “ steady perseverance in the same bold and energetic sentiments,
 “ which have lately been avowed by the Friends of Freedom,
 “ cannot fail of crowning with ultimate triumph, the virtuous
 “ Cause in which we are engaged, since whatever may be the
 “ interested Opinion of *Hereditary* Senators, or *packed* Majori-
 “ ties of *pretended* Representatives; Truth and Liberty in an
 “ age so enlightened as the present, must be Invincible and
 “ Omnipotent,”

“ *This Society having already addressed M. Margarot, their*
 “ *Delegate, an ADDRESS to JOSEPH GERALD was*
 “ *read as follows, and carried unanimously.*

“ *To JOSEPH GERALD, a prisoner sentenced by the High*
 “ *Court of Justiciary of Scotland, to Transportation beyond*
 “ *the Seas for FOURTEEN YEARS!*

“ We behold in you our beloved and respected friend and fel-
 “ low-citizen, a Martyr to the Glorious Cause of Equal Repre-
 “ sentation, and we cannot permit you to leave this degraded
 “ country without expressing the infinite obligations the people
 “ at large, and we in particular, owe to you for your very spirited
 “ exertions in that cause upon every occasion; but upon none
 “ more conspicuously, than during the sitting of the BRITISH
 “ CONVENTION of the PEOPLE at Edinburgh, and the conse-
 “ quent

“quent *proceeding* (we will not call it *trial*) at the bar of the
 “Court of Justiciary.

“We know not which most deserves our admiration, the splendid talents with which you are so eminently distinguished; the exalted virtues by which they have been directed; the perseverance and undaunted firmness which you so nobly displayed in resisting the wrongs of your insulted and oppressed country; or your present manly and philosophical suffering under an *arbitrary*, and till of late *unprecedented* sentence: a sentence one of the most vindictive and cruel that has been pronounced since the days of that *most infamous* and *ever-to-be-detested* Court of Star Chamber, the enormous tyranny of which cost the first Charles his head.

“To you and your associates we feel ourselves most deeply indebted. For us it is that you are suffering the sentence of Transportation with felons, the vilest outcasts of Society! For us it is that you are doomed to the inhospitable shores of New Holland; where, however, we doubt not you will experience considerable alleviation by the remembrance of that VIRTUOUS CONDUCT for which it is imposed on you, and by the sincere regard and esteem of your Fellow Citizens.

“The Equal Laws of this Country have, for ages past, been the boast of its inhabitants: But whither are they now fled? We are animated by the same sentiments, are daily repeating the same words, and committing the same actions for which you are thus infamously sentenced; and we will repeat and commit them until we have obtained redress; yet we are unpunished! either therefore the law is Unjust towards you in inflicting *Punishment* on the Exertions of *Virtue and Talents*, or it *ought* not to deprive us of *our share* in the GLORY of the *Martyrdom*.

“We again, therefore, pledge ourselves to you and to our country, never to cease demanding our Rights from those who have usurped them, until having obtained an Equal Representation of the People, we shall be enabled to hail you once more with Triumph to your native country.—We wish you

" Health and Happiness; and be assured we never, *never* shall
" forget *your Name, your Virtues*, nor YOUR GREAT EX-
" AMPLE.

" The London Corresponding Society.

" JOHN LOVETT, Chairman.

" THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.

" The 14th of April, 1794."

" *It was also unanimously resolved,*

" That the Committee of Correspondence be directed to con-
" vey the approbation of this Society—I. To Archibald Hamil-
" ton Rowan, prisoner in the Newgate of the city of Dublin,
" for his unshaken attachment to the people, and for his spirited
" assertion of their rights.

" II. To John Philpot Curran for his admirable and energe-
" tic defence of A. H. Rowan, and the principles of Liberty,
" as well as for his patriotic conduct in Parliament.

" III. To the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin, and to
" exhort them to persevere in their exertions to obtain justice
" for the people of Ireland.

" IV. To Skirving, Palmer and Muir, suffering the same ini-
" quitous sentences, and in the same cause with our Delegates.

" V. To John Clark, and Alexander Reid, for their so readily
" and disinterestedly giving bail for our Delegates, instigated
" thereto solely by their attachment to Liberty, uninfluenced by
" any personal consideration.

" VI. To Adam Gillies, Malcolm Laing, and James Gibson,
" for their able assistance given to Joseph Gerald, at the bar of
" the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh.

" VII. To felicitate Thomas Walker, of Manchester, and
" the people at large on the event of his, as well as several other
" late trials, and on the developement of the infamy of a system
" of Spies and Informers.

" VIII. To Sir Joseph Mawbey, for his manly conduct at
" the late surreptitious Meeting held at Epsom in Surrey.

" It

" It was also unanimously Resolved,

" That Two Hundred Thousand Copies of the Proceedings
" and Resolutions of this Meeting be printed and published.

" J. LOVETT, Chairman.

" T. HARDY, Secretary.

" Resolved,

" That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman,
" for his manly and impartial conduct this day.

" T. HARDY, Secretary."

Mr. Law. With whom did you go to this meeting ?

A. I went from a place in Store-street, Tottenham-court-road,
a good part of the way with Mr. Thelwall.

Q. How came you to know that the meeting was to be held
at Chalk Farm, had you any reason to expect it to be held at
any other place ?

A. I had reason at first to believe it would be held in Store-
street.

Q. Was the change of place intimated to you ?

A. Not till after I got to Store-street.

Q. Who told you it was to be at Chalk Farm ?

A. Thelwall.

Q. Did he tell you why it was given out to be held in Store-
street ?

A. If I recollect right, he told me the reason given out of its
being to be held in Store-street, was an imagination of the ma-
gistracy interfering to prevent the meeting.

Q. Were there any written or printed papers giving notice
at Store-street, informing persons the meeting would be held at
Chalk Farm ?

A. Yes ; a written notice of it put upon the door.

Q. Who proposed Mr. Lovett's being put in the chair ?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Who were the principal persons who spoke and acted in
that meeting.

A. Mr. Lovett, Mr. Richter, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Hodson.

Q. Did Mr. Thelwall make a speech at that meeting?

A. Two or three.

Q. Do you recollect any thing particular in either of those speeches respecting spies or informers?

A. There was a clamour went round that there were spies and informers there; Mr. Thelwall was for admitting all spies and informers there, because the number of the members of the London Corresponding Society, could be no agreeable news to the minister.

Q. Who read the resolutions?

A. I think Mr. Richter.

Q. Do you remember any objection being made to the words "a British Senate," in one of those resolutions?

A. I think there was.

Q. By whom was that objection made?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Do you recollect Mr. Thelwall saying any thing upon that subject?

A. As far as my belief goes, I can say, but no further.

Q. After that meeting was over, where did you adjourn to; where did you spend your evening; do you recollect any thing particular that Mr. Hardy said or did at that meeting?

A. I only recollect Mr. Hardy speaking three words: Mr. Richter was reading, and in the midst of his reading he stopt short to make some observations of his own; Mr. Hardy, who stood below, said, looking up to him, read, Sir, without comment; that was all he said, and that is the whole I recollect of Mr. Hardy's saying any thing at all.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What was Richter reading at that time?

A. The paper that has been just read.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Which of those papers?

A. The Address of the London Corresponding Society.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. The General Address; the Address to Margat; or, the Approbation of Hamilton Rowan, and the rest?

A. I mean the General Address.

Mr.

Mr. Law. Do you remember any mention of a future meeting to be held of the society?

A. There was a talk of a meeeting to be called again soon.

Q. Do you recollect who mentioned that?

A. No.

Q. After the business of the day was over, where did you adjourn to for supper?

A. I went to the division room in Compton-street.

Q. Were suppers provided at other divisions?

A. I do not know, I never went to any but my own division.

Q. Who was chairman?

A. Mr. Thelwall.

Q. Do you recollect any remarkable language used by Thelwall during supper, or in the course of that evening?

A. I heard something which very much astonished me.

Q. What was it?

A. Thelwall said, taking up a pot of porter in his hand, which had been delivered him by some waiter or somebody, he blew off the head of the porter, and said, this is the way I would have all Kings served, or this is the way I would serve all Kings, I know not which.

Q. But one or other of those expressions you are certain to?

A. One or other I am certain of.

Q. Was there any particular toast given?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that toast?

A. The lantern, at the end of Parliament-street.

Q. The lamp-iron?

A. Yes; I beg pardon, the lamp-iron, at the end of Parliament-street.

Q. Did he call upon any body else for another toast?

A. He called upon somebody to cover it.

Q. What was it covered with?

A. Somebody, whom I know not, in the further end of the room, cried out, the Treasury Bench.

Q. Were those toasts drank by the persons then assembled?

A. They were.

Q. And the persons assembled consisted of members of that division of the Corresponding Society?

A. Yes; I should believe that no visitor was there that night?

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Green?

A. Yes.

Q. Is he a member of the Corresponding Society?

A. Yes; he was at that time.

Q. What conversation had you with him at the time he was a member of the Corresponding Society, respecting Universal Suffrage, and Annual Parliaments?

A. That was not in the division room.

Q. What did he say respecting the general object of their plan, what they aimed at attaining?

A. He once said to me that Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, were only ladders to obtain their ends, or words to that effect.

Q. Was he of the same division with yourself?

A. He was.

Q. Where was it?

A. In a place called the Coffee-room, before you go into the division room.

One of the Jury. Was it that same evening you have been speaking of?

A. No, I am not speaking of that same evening.

Mr. Law. Where is the house in which this passed?

A. No. 3, in Compton-street, Soho.

Q. Did he say any thing respecting the use parliament was of?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Was there any body else present, or was that a conversation between you two only?

A. Between us two, there were several other people in the place called the Coffee-room.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Were they near enough to hear this conversation?

A. I do not think any one was,

Mr.

Mr. Law. Did Green shew you a knife of any particular construction?

A. I must explain that by something which happened previous to it.—At the meeting at Chalk Farm, there was a kind of shed in which we were all sitting previous to the commencement of the business, and there was a bit of bread and cheese and some porter brought; I was sitting with half a dozen or ten in the same box, and I was surprized by five or six of them pulling out little instruments exactly corresponding with each other.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What sort of an instrument?

A. I mean a sort of thing called a *couteau secret*, a French knife.

Mr. Law. Describe the form of them, have you got one of them?

A. I have not.

Q. Have you seen a French knife?

A. Yes; there is a spring, so that when the blade is put out, unless you undo that spring it cannot close.

Q. Were they fixed like a common case knife?

A. Exactly; and unless the spring fails, the person cannot cut himself by its flying back.

Q. You observed several of them with those knives?

A. I think five or six.

Q. You do not recollect, I believe, who the persons were that were using them?

A. Yes, one.

Q. Who was that?

A. His name was Pearce.

Q. Having seen these knives when in company with Green, and he was making this declaration, did you apply to him about a knife, or did he shew you a knife of that same construction?

A. It was in consequence of the conversation I learned; when I saw five or six of them with knives of the same description, an observation was made by one of the company that they were bread and cheese knives, and upon that observation there was a smile; I looked upon them as harmless instruments certainly.

Q. Did you learn from Green what number of these knives he had sold ?

A. I asked where they were to be bought, and I was told I might get them of Mr. Green ; I asked where Mr. Green lived, they told me in Orange-street ; there was a man from Sheffield in the box whose name I do not recollect, his person I well know.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Did you know where Green lived at that time ?

A. I did not, I asked where they were to be bought ; one of the company said at Mr. Green's, I asked where he lived ; they said he was a perfumer and hair-dresser in Orange-street, Leicester-fields.

Q. Did you go to buy one ?

A. In about a week after I did.

Q. Did you learn from Green what number of these knives he had sold ?

A. I think he said two or three hundred ; Mr. Green told me to speak very low, for the parlour-door was open which was adjoining the shop, and he smiled and said, for my wife is a damned Aristocrat.

Q. Did you attend afterwards a meeting of your division, which I think was No. 2, in Compton-street, on the 28th of April ?

A. I cannot recollect exactly the day, but I believe I attended regularly.

Q. Do you recollect any observation made by Pearce, respecting those knives, and the use and convenience of them ?

A. At the meeting at Chalk-Farm he did.

Q. What did he say about the convenience of these knives ?

A. He said, if you strike with them they will not fly back, or words to that purpose.

Q. Pearce is a person whom you are sure you saw using one of these knives at Chalk-Farm ?

A. I am very sure of that ; there was a man from Sheffield, who found fault very much with the construction of these knives.

Q. What was the fault he found with them ?

A. That

A. That they were made in a bungling manner, that they were not equal to those made at Sheffield.

Q. Did he mention that there were many others of a similar construction made at Sheffield?

A. He did.

Q. You say you do not recollect the day of the month?

A. No.

Q. Were you present at any meeting, when any subscription was made for Doctor Hodson?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was any subscription for this Doctor Hodson proposed when you was present?

A. In the division.

Q. Do you recollect when that was?

A. I do not recollect the date of that.

Q. Was such a subscription proposed?

A. There was.

Q. Was any thing collected under that subscription?

A. That I cannot say, I think to the contrary; I think they said he had been relieved; I am bound to speak the truth, and therefore must certainly add this to it, that the application for relief was rejected on the ground of the violence of that person's conduct, and I think there was another reason if my memory is right; he was not considered as a member of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. I believe you were present at the dinner at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, on the second of May?

A. I was.

Q. Before I go to that, I will just ask you as to one meeting at an earlier period, the 25th of February 1794. Do you recollect being present at a division-meeting, when any address from Stockport was read?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you that address about you?

A. I do not think I have.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What day?

A. In the month of February,

Mr, Law.

Mr. Law. Can you ascertain at what part of the month?

A. No.

Q. What was the number of your division?

A. No. II.

Q. I thought that had been the number of the house?

A. Number three was the number of the house, No. II. the number of the division.

Q. Look at that paper, and say, whether that is the paper that was read at the meeting in February last, at your division?

A. This paper I am very sure was delivered; I need not look at the contents, because there are my initials upon it.

[*It was read.*]

“ RIGHTS OF SWINE ;

“ *An Address to the Poor.*

“ Printed in the year 1794.

“ *I also will shew mine opinion.*”

“ Hard indeed must be the heart which is unaffected with the
“ present distress experienced by the poor in general in this com-
“ mercial nation. Thousands of honest and industrious people
“ in Great-Britain are literally starving for want of bread ; and
“ the cause invariably assigned is a stagnant commerce. My
“ opinion on this subject will perhaps appear to some a strange
“ phænomena—it is, that a stagnant commerce is not the *real*
“ cause of the want of the necessaries of life among the laborious
“ poor. And I am confident, that, while the “ Earth yields her
“ increase,” there is a method founded on JUSTICE and REASON,
“ to prevent the poor from wanting bread, be the state of trade
“ whatever it may.

“ In the first place, then, I will ask, what are the principal
“ sources of human subsistence? Certainly corn and grass. Corn
“ is moulded into many shapes for the use of man, but chiefly
“ into bread, which is the staff of life ; and from grass, we
“ derive our flesh, milk, butter, cheese, &c. besides wool and
“ leather, which, I think, with the addition of coal, and a few
“ other minerals, nearly make up the real necessaries of life.

“ I ask

“ I ask again then, who is so infatuated as to say, that the
 “ growing of corn or grass, is dependent on, or connected with,
 “ the prosperity or adversity of trade? Certainly (thank Heaven!)
 “ they are not affected by the devouring sword, or ruined com-
 “ merce (except at the seat of war).—Corn grows not in the
 “ loom, nor grass upon the anvil! Why is it, then, that while
 “ there is plenty of bread the poor are starving? Is there not as
 “ much grain in the land as when the trade flourished? Suppose
 “ trade were to rise immediately to an amazing degree, would it
 “ make one grain of corn or blade of grass? Certainly not.
 “ Why then, I ask again, are the poor, who are the peculiar
 “ care of HIM who delights to do his needy creatures good, not
 “ satisfied with the good of the land?

“ The following reasons are at least satisfactory to myself:—
 “ Because, in the time of national prosperity, house and land rent
 “ (consequently provisions) are always raised by the wealthy
 “ and voluptuous, till they are, at least, at par with high wages;
 “ but, when WAR, or any other cause, has ruined or impeded
 “ commerce, and reduced wages, *rents* and *provisions* remain
 “ unabated. The poor callico-weavers in the vicinity of Man-
 “ chester, notoriously illustrate this argument, as they are now
 “ (they who can get any) working for fifty and sixty per cent.
 “ less wages than at this time two years back, and the necessities
 “ of life are rather augmented in their prices than diminished!!!

“ Harken, O ye Poor of the Land! While great men have
 “ an unbounded power to raise *their* rents and *your* provisions—
 “ and, at the same time, an uncontrolled power to make *War*,
 “ and consequently to dry up, or diminish, the sources of your
 “ income, your subsistence will, at the best, be precarious, and
 “ your very existence often miserable!—The present want of
 “ bread amongst the poor, is not owing to the want of grain in
 “ the world, nor, I presume, in this land, but owing to the
 “ price of it being excessively above the price of labour. When,
 “ therefore, the price of labour cannot be brought up to the rate
 “ of provisions, provisions should be reduced to the rate of
 “ labour. Till this is practicable, the poor are miserable!

“ During

“ During the last twenty years, mechanical wages have been
 “ varied, according to circumstances, several times, and not
 “ unusually, in some branches, twenty, thirty, forty, and even
 “ fifty per cent.—I mean on the lowering, as well as the rising
 “ side of the medium. But, with regard to *land-rent*, its varia-
 “ tions have always been progressive; and to find a single
 “ instance to the contrary, would be almost, if not altogether,
 “ impossible !

“ It requires but little sagacity to see, that the Game Laws,
 “ Riot-Act, Laws against Vagrants and Felons, &c. &c. are
 “ made chiefly for the security of the *rich* against the depredations
 “ of the *poor*. But what security have the *poor* against the op-
 “ pression and extortion of the *rich* ? Certainly none at all. As
 “ every comfort of life is derived from land, and as the rich are
 “ the proprietors thereof, it may in some sense be said, that they
 “ hold the issues of life and death; and, whilst they can, uninter-
 “ ruptedly, raise their rents without limitation or restraint, they
 “ have an alarming and unbounded power over, not only the
 “ happiness, but even the *lives* of the great mass of the people—
 “ the *poor* !

“ If, then, Statesmen have a right to advance their lands
 “ in times of prosperity, the *Poor* ought to have a Parliament
 “ of their *own choosing*, invested with power to reduce them
 “ in days of adversity. This balance of power between the
 “ *Rich* and the *Poor*, would be productive of a thousand times
 “ more consolation to this Nation, than the chimerical nonsense
 “ of court-jugglers, “ *the balance of power in Europe*.” Nor
 “ can I imagine that any judicious person would call such a
 “ power in Parliament unjust or irrational, which, when exer-
 “ cised, could ruin none, but bless millions ! If it would be cruel
 “ to make a Statesman of twenty thousand pounds per annum,
 “ live a year or two upon ten thousand; how much more re-
 “ morseless is it, to make the Spitalfield and Norwich weavers,
 “ as well as some hundred thousands more, live upon nothing—
 “ or, what is little better, upon *Charity* !!! Besides, it is a
 “ curious truth, that the very article which ruins hundreds of the
 “ voluptuous

" voluptuous great, would render happy the innumerable unhappy part of mankind !

" GREAT GOD ! What spectacle so affecting to a reflecting mind as Great Britain in her present state !—On the one hand, we see the impudent Nobles advertising their "*Grand Dinners*," in the very face of the hungry Poor, whom they have ruined !! On the other hand, Widows, Orphans, and others are weeping, and often dying for want of bread ! What can be more odious in the sight of Heaven, than Feast and Famine in the same Nation ? Yet, this is literally the case in this Kingdom, at this moment, and not only in the Nation, but in every town, in every street, yea, often under the very same roof !

" Open your eyes, O ye Poor of the land !—in vain are your hands and your mouths open !—Do you not see how you are cajoled and degraded, by the paltry subscriptions made for you, at different times and in various parts of the nation ; which serve only to make your Slavery more servile, and your Misery of longer duration ? I revere generous subscribers and collectors, but I scorn the means ! Ye Poor, take a further look into your Rights, and you will see, that, upon the principles of Reason and Justice, every peaceable and useful person has a right, yea, a "*Divine Right*" to be satisfied with the good of the Land ! Besides, is it not monstrously provoking to be robbed by wholesale, and relieved by retail ! Look again, and you will see that public Collections, Subscriptions, and Charities, are nothing more than the appendages of Corruption, Extortion, and Oppression ! If the benevolent Father of the Universe did not send amongst mankind provisions enough, and more than enough, such is the waste of the great and the gluttonous, that many of you Poor, would get none at all ! Say not, therefore, ye Oppressed, "*there is a famine, or scarcity of provisions in the Land !*" It would be false. 'The Land contains plenty ; and if provisions were (as they ought to be) reduced to your wages, you would enjoy your unquestionable right, a comfortable sufficiency.

5 " But,

“ But, besides the destruction of your trade, and the means
 “ of subsistence, you have the mortification to see your Bread
 “ eaten by Dragoon and Hunting Horses, Spaniels, &c. and
 “ your parental, affectionate, loving, provident and tender
 “ Guardians, can give you a good reason why—it is their
 “ own!

“ Hearken! O ye poor of the Land! Do you fret and whine
 “ at Oppression—“ yes”—“ Then, as ye do, so did your Fa-
 “ thers before you”—and, if you *do no more*, your Children
 “ may whine after you! Awake! Arise! arm yourselves—
 “ with Truth, Justice and Reason—lay siege to Corruption;
 “ and your unity and invincibility shall teach your Oppressors
 “ terrible things!—Purge the Representation of your Country
 “ ---claim, as your inalienable right, Universal Suffrage, and
 “ Annual Parliaments. And whenever you have the gratifica-
 “ tion to chuse a representative, let him be from among the
 “ lower order of men, and he will know how to sympathize
 “ with you, and represent you in character.—Then, and not
 “ till then, shall you experience universal Peace and incessant
 “ Plenty.

“ A FRIEND TO THE POOR.

“ *Stockport, Jan. 5, 1794.*”

Mr. Law. I think you say you were present at the dinner
 at the Crown and Anchor on the 2d of May?

A. I was if that was the day the dinner was had.

Q. Was you admitted by any ticket?

A. I was.

Q. Who furnished you with that ticket?

A. The preceding evening, between the hours of nine and
 ten, Mr. Hardy came to my house, and brought me a ticket, I
 think 7s. 6d. marked on it. I put my hand in my pocket think-
 ing I was to pay, he said no, there is nothing to pay for this
 ticket?

Q. By whom did you understand those tickets were given?

A. I had no conversation with him upon that subject at all.

Lord

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. At what time did he bring it to you ?

A. Between the hours of nine and ten o'clock.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Where ?

A. In Crown-court, Covent-garden.

Mr. Law. This was a meeting of the Constitutional Society ?

A. I understood it to be a meeting of the Constitutional Society, with a certain number of the London Corresponding Society, who were invited to that dinner, and Mr. Hardy brought me a ticket unknown and unexpected.

Q. Did you go as a member of the Corresponding Society ?

A. I did.

Q. Do you know what number of those tickets were delivered out for the Corresponding Society ?

A. I think, if I may presume to guess——

Q. Do you know what number of the Corresponding Society there were there that were not members of the Constitutional Society ?

A. I think I may say twenty.

Q. Do you recollect before dinner any news coming of any particular public event, and what was said in the society upon that ?

A. There was some news of some public event.

Q. Was it good or bad news to this country ?

A. I understood it to be very bad news.

Q. In the Constitutional Society, and in this assembly, consisting of members of both societies, was there any joy shewn, or otherwise ?

A. There seemed universal satisfaction, and it was carried about the room seemingly with great eagerness.

Q. Was there any song sung that you recollect by the name of the Free Constitution ?

A. It was delivered to me before dinner in a room adjoining the dinner room, by a person who delivered them round to all the people there, as far as they could go, I believe.

Q. Did

Q. Did you see any papers of any sort laid upon the plates in the room?

A. I recollect now there was a paper on the plates.

Q. Was it of the same sort with the one you have stated to have been delivered in the outer room?

A. I cannot say.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Have you got it?

A. I have not.

Mr. Law. You cannot say whether the paper laid on the plate was the same as the song or not?

A. I cannot.

Q. Who was in the chair at that dinner?

A. I understood Mr. Horne Tooke—No, I believe a Mr. Wharton, and even in that I do not know that I am correct, but I think so, Mr. Wharton——

Q. Was Mr. Horne Tooke there?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know Lord Daer?

A. I do.

Q. Mention the names of any persons you particularly remember to have been present.

A. Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Wharton, a Gentleman whom I saw in Court just now, of the name of Birchall, Mr. Sharp, whom I have known many years, an engraver; there were several members of the London Corresponding Society.

Q. Do you know Mr. Frost?

A. Yes; he was there, and he sat close to Mr. Tooke.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Were those members or visitors?

A. I cannot undertake to say, I did not belong to the Constitutional Society.

Mr. Law. Was Mr. Hardy there?

A. Mr. Hardy was there.

Q. Do you know Thelwall?

A. He was there.

Q. Richter?

A. Yes.

Q. Lovett?

A. He

A. He was there.

Q. Was Moore there?

A. Yes.

Q. Pearce?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Jones there?

A. Yes.

Q. He was a member of the London Corresponding Society I believe?

A. There are several Jones's.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Does much turn upon the names?

Mr. Law. No.—What songs were sung, do you recollect; do you know a song by the name of *Ca Ira*?

A. That was not sung as I recollect, but the moment the company got into the room, the music struck up *Ca Ira*.

Q. Before dinner are you speaking of?

A. I think all the time we were at dinner; I think it played *Ca Ira* almost from beginning to end; it was encored time after time.

Q. Do you recollect the music of any other song that was played?

A. Yes, the Marseillois March—the Carmagnol.

Q. Did the company seem to be pleased with the music, did it meet with any applause?

A. I never heard such an universal din of approbation in the course of my life; it was nothing but a scene of clamour, for I do believe most people's hands smarted, and their ears ached.

Q. Do you recollect any particular toast drank after dinner?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you recollect none of the toasts?

A. I cannot charge my memory.

Q. Do you recollect any particular address that was made to the company then present, by Mr. Horne Tooke?

A. That I do.

Q. State, as far as you can, the words, if not the words, the substance of that address?

A. I will; some time after dinner Mr. Horne Tooke got up, and silence was called, and he prefaced his address by an observation that, I believe, one out of fifty in that room might be considered as a Government Spy, and to them he wished particularly to address himself; and, in consequence of that address, I must confess I did attend; in consequence of his addressing himself to Government spies, I certainly did attend to what he said; for my idea of a spy and informer may differ particularly in a business of this nature.

Q. To the best of your recollection, what was it Mr. Horne Tooke delivered in that address?

A. He begged the company to take notice, that he was not in a state of inebriation; for having something to say to the company, he had taken care to refrain from his glass; and for fear of being mistaken, and being taken to be in a state of intoxication, he begged every body present to take particular notice of what he said; he called the Parliament a scoundrel sink of corruption; he called the Opposition in Parliament a scoundrel sink of opposition; he said, that there was a junction between those two scoundrel parties, formed for the purpose of destroying the rights and liberties of the country; he began to speak about the Hereditary Nobility; he asked, if that skip-jack, Jenkinson, could be considered as one of the Hereditary Nobility of the country; and, I think, if my memory is right, that he paid the same compliment to the House of Lords that he did to the House of Commons.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Don't speak about compliment.—What did he say?

A. That there was a junction between the ministerial party and the opposition in the House of Lords.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Do you mean that he said the same thing of the House of Lords as of the House of Commons?

A. Yes; he said it was in order to amuse, or abuse, (he used one of these words, I am not sure which word) that poor man, the King.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. What was in order to amuse?

A. The junction between the two parties.

Mr. Law. Was any thing further said by him ?

A. I do not recollect ; yes, I think he said likewise, that the junction of the opposition in Parliament with the aristocratic party in the House of Commons, was likewise meant to abuse and deceive the people of this country. The junction of parties in the House of Commons to abuse the people of this country.

Q. Did he mention any thing farther respecting the King ?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Did he state what was the object of his address, or of his measures ?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. How was this address of his received ?

A. With applause,—with great applause.

Q. Was any song sung to the tune of God save the King ?

A. There was.

Q. Do you recollect Mr. Horne Tooke's saying any thing respecting the song that had been sung to that tune ?

A. I cannot recollect.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Was it the song of God save the King ?

A. No ; a song to the tune of God save the King.

Mr. Law. Do you recollect Mr. Tooke's singing, or reciting, any lines of a song to that tune ?

A. You have recalled something to my memory that I had forgot—if I am right, Mr. Horne Tooke sung that song ; or he sung an additional verse, which he said had been forgot.

Q. What did he supply ?

A. I do not recollect the words.

Q. What was the name of that song ? you said that a song, entitled the Free Constitution, was delivered to the members before dinner ?

A. Yes ; and I do not know whether there was not one put upon each plate ; if it was not that, it was something else ; Mr. Horne Tooke sung that song.

Q. Do you recollect the first line of the song that was sung to the tune of God save the King ?

A. I do not.

Mr. John Groves.

Cross Examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. Pray what are you?

A. I have followed the business of conveyancing for these twenty-two, or twenty-three years.

Q. Then you are a lawyer?

A. If you call that a lawyer.

Q. Is conveyancing the only branch of the profession that you have followed?

Groves. As an attorney do you mean?

Mr. Gibbs. Are you an attorney?

A. I never brought or defended an action, in my life, as an attorney.

Q. You may tell me whether you are an attorney or not?

A. I am not.

Q. Are you a solicitor.

Groves. In Chancery?

Mr. Gibbs. No I did not mean in Chancery, you have been long enough in the law to know the meaning of the word solicitor;—are you a solicitor of any sort?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. I have been here.

Q. Why then, you are solicitor at the Old Bailey.

A. Yes.

Q. Could not you have said so at once; you understood perfectly well what I meant.

A. No.

Q. When I asked if you were a solicitor, and you asked if I meant in Chancery, I told you I did not mean in Chancery?

A. I thought you meant a solicitor in Chancery.

Q. And you really did not know the meaning of my question?

A. I did not know.

Q. You had not the least idea that I meant to ask, if you had been an Old Bailey solicitor?

A. It

A. It did not occur to me.

Q. It did not occur to you, upon my asking you the question, that you had been an Old Bailey solicitor?

A. I did not say that; but I gave you what I thought an immediate answer. I really did not know the term as applied to me as a solicitor.

Q. You really did not know but that I meant to ask you whether you were a solicitor in Chancery?—What was the first time that you were at any of those meetings?

A. On the 20th of January.

Q. How came you to go then?

A. I was sent by a gentleman.

Q. By whom?

Groves. I am asked, my Lord, by whom; if it is proper I will tell.

Mr. Gibbs. If it be improper I will not ask it?

Groves. If it is a fair question I will answer it directly.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. There can be no imputation upon you for answering the question;—if you decline answering, that is another thing; it exposes you to no difficulties, or penalty, or any thing of that sort.

A. None; it is only a point of delicacy. I am ready to give an answer—I have not the least objection on my part.

Mr. Law. My Lord, I take it that the channels for information must be protected.

Mr. Attorney-General. The Court of Exchequer never would permit that question to be asked.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Upon a general principle I do not know whether it ought to be answered.

Groves. It was a person high in office under his Majesty; but permit me to add, I was not desired by that gentleman to conceal his name.

Mr. Gibbs. Then where is the delicacy of it?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. He has said what is proper and material for your purpose: that is, that he went there, being employed for the purpose of collecting information, with a view to the disclosure of it.

Mr. Gibbs. I will not press the question further than your Lordship thinks I ought—I leave it to the discretion of the Court if it is thought not proper.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I do not think it is proper.

Mr. Gibbs. Then you were desired by a person, high in office, to go to this place;—how arose your connection with that gentleman.

A. My connection with that gentleman has been for these ten years; that is so far as having the honour of being personally known to him.

Q. What sort of connection had you with him?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. It is hardly proper that the history of a connection of that kind should be disclosed here.

Groves. That gentleman would not employ me in any thing dishonourable, nor would I accept it.

Mr. Gibbs. I dare say you would not.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. You find he went on purpose to give information of what passed; that is the only fact that is material for the prisoner; the rest is private intercourse, which may involve in it the consideration of a thousand other things, which may be material to the government of the country.—I think it not proper to be disclosed here, it is not necessary to the cause.

Groves. I have had the honour of his confidence ever since I have known him.

Mr. Gibbs. Then trusting in you, he sent you to the Globe Tavern on the 20th of January, 1794?

A. Certainly.

Q. Then you never were at any of those meetings but in the character of a spy?

A. As you call it so, I will take it so.

Mr. Gibbs. If you were not there as a spy, take any title you chuse for yourself, and I will give you that.

Mr. Law. He did not state any title.

Mr. Gibbs. I did not desire you to take any title in the sense that gentleman is using the term; you object to the term spy, as I called you, and I bid you take any other name.

A. Lord Chief Justice Eyre. There should be no name given to
a witness

a witness on his examination: he states what he went for, and in making observations on the evidence, you may give it any appellation you please. You recollect I made the observation before, when Mr. Erskine did the same thing.

Mr. Gibbs. I really did not feel that I was going at all out of the way in the cross-examination of a witness, in calling him by a name which suits his character, though he does not like it.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Go on.

Mr. Gibbs. You went then (not to call you a spy) to these meetings in the character of a person, who had no other reason for going there, than that of picking up what information you could, and carrying it again to those employers, in whose confidence you were?

A. Certainly.

Q. Then I must express your employment by that paraphrasis. You said there was a great assembly there?

A. There was.

Q. There was a considerable meeting you said, and Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments were talked of?

Groves. Which meeting do you speak of?

Mr. Gibbs. I am speaking of the meeting to which you first went.

A. There was a very large meeting, so much so that the floor broke down.

Q. You have been giving an account of some conversation that passed there; can't you recollect who the persons were that had that conversation?

A. No; I do not know, there was an universal conversation.

Q. You going there for the purpose of collecting evidence against individuals, and coming now to give evidence against an individual, you thought it not material to observe who the people were that then used this language—You, a gentleman used to practise at the Old Bailey, and meaning to give evidence afterwards against those persons, did not think it material to learn by whom these conversations were held?

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Mr. Gibbs, I am sorry to interrupt you, but your questions ought not to be accompanied with those

sort of comments: they are the proper subjects of observation when the defence is made. The business of a cross-examination is to ask to all sorts of acts, to probe a witness as closely as you can; but it is not the object of a cross-examination, to introduce that kind of peraphrasis as you have just done.

Mr. Gibbs. Send to Mr. Erskine, he is in the parlour.

[*Mr. Erskine immediately came into Court.*]

Mr. Erskine. Will your Lordship give me leave to say, it is the universal practice of the Court of King's Bench, the first criminal court in this country, in which I have had the honour to practice for seventeen years---We are certainly permitted to go as far as this. I agree with your Lordship in what you just now said (and it will be of no consequence whether I did or no, because your Lordship must give the rule) but what I take my learned friend to have said to the witness, is this: you, sir, not meaning it as an insult to the witness, but you, sir, as a practiser at the Old Bailey, must know the necessity, if you go to any place to get evidence, of having proper materials for that evidence; how do you account for not having done that? In a cross-examination, Counsel are not called upon to be so exact as in an original examination---You are permitted to lead a witness.

Mr. Gibbs. I desired Mr. Erskine to be sent for into court, as I wished to have the testimony of a gentleman who has practised in that court more than any man now present, that I was not departing from the practice which has obtained there---My end is now answered in desiring Mr. Erskine to come into court.

Mr. Erskine. I can appeal to one of the learned Judges now upon the Bench. I remember that when Mr. Garrow first came to the situation, which undoubtedly he fills with a great deal of ability, I objected to a question he put on a cross-examination, and when it turned out that it was upon cross-examination, the laugh was turned against me, and I had nothing to say.

Mr. Justice Buller. Undoubtedly the practice has increased much within my memory: what Mr. Erskine alludes to now has been universally the practice; that when you are upon a cross-examination, you are permitted to lead a witness more than you

can on an original examination; but be so good as recollect the mode in which the Lord Chief Justice put it yesterday, and I do not think in Guildhall, or any where else, you ever departed from that. You may lead a witness upon a cross-examination to bring him directly to the point as to the answer; but not to go the length as was attempted yesterday, of putting the very words into a witness's mouth, which he was to echo back again.

Mr. Erskine. Having done that yesterday, I immediately bowed to the admonition I received from my Lord Chief Justice.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I should be extremely sorry if it should be supposed that I mean to make an observation that seemed to press personally upon either of the learned counsel who are now for the defendant, and particularly on the gentleman who is now cross-examining this witness, and more particularly if it were supposed I was capable of doing that in the absence of the other counsel; I hope that will never be imagined of me.

With regard to the point, I think it is so clear that the questions that are put are not to be loaded with all the observations that arise upon all the previous parts of the case, they tend so to distract the attention of every body, they load us in point of time so much, and that that is not the time for observation upon the character and situation of a witness is so apparent, that as a rule of evidence it ought never to be departed from; but it is certainly true that it does slide into examinations, and that it is very often not taken notice of, and it saves more time frequently to let it pass than to take notice of it; but there is a rule to which all those sort of things, if once an appeal is made to the court, ought to be brought, and my judgment is, that after you have got the particular facts upon which that sort of observation is founded, the examination ought to proceed to the other facts upon the case, and the observations upon those former facts ought to make part of the defence.

Mr. Gibbs. My reason for sending for Mr. Erskine was because I knew it had been the practice, and I think I have observed it in the course of this cause on the other side. What Mr. Justice Buller has said, that it is a practice that has gone on to a greater length than it ought, I hope, will be

be an excuse for me, because I am more inexperienced in the profession than Mr. Erskine or Mr. Garrow. If that mode of examination prevails on one side, especially against a defendant.—

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I will never suffer it to prevail on either side, but as far as I would indulge it, it should be on the part of a defendant.

Mr. Gibbs. Your lordship does not suppose, I trust, that I sent for Mr. Erskine with any other view than I have mentioned, I confess I feel myself sensibly mortified.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. I am extremely sorry for it, I never wished to mortify you.

Mr. Gibbs. I think you told me that you were a gentleman who practised at the Old Bailey, do you now practise here, or have you left off that practice?

A. I have not left it off.

Q. You now practise at the Old Bailey?

A. I have not for some time.

Q. How happens that?

A. Not this six months.

Q. Your reason for not having practised is, that no business has been brought to you, I presume?

A. Certainly, you are right there.

Q. Did you or not think it necessary, at this meeting, to attend to the particular persons from whom the conversation that you are now stating, proceeded?

A. At that time I was a total stranger almost to every one in room.

Q. You did not endeavour to distinguish what was said by one man from what was said by another?

A. I did not in conversation.

Q. You say the language was Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell me who used that language?

A. I cannot, it was the general language.

Q. Who used it you cannot tell?

A. No, I cannot.

Q. How

Q. How many people might there be there?

A. As many as the room could contain, and it was a large room; I should suppose if I said four hundred people I should speak within bounds.

Q. You cannot recollect any one particular person who held this language you have been speaking of?

A. I cannot; we were in two rooms there; the first room we were in broke down, which occasioned us to go up stairs.

Q. You were afterwards at Chalk Farm, I think you say?

A. I was.

Q. There you went under the same employment, and for the same person?

A. Exactly so.

Q. You seem to have fixed yourself a good deal upon Mr. Thelwall?

A. No, Mr. Thelwall fixed himself upon me.

Q. It was involuntary then?

A. Quite so, for at that time I hardly knew Mr. Thelwall.

Q. You would rather have declined it?

A. No, I did not say that; that is going too far; he and I were standing at the door, in Store-street, together, when there were not above ten or a dozen people there, and then the paper being stuck up that the meeting would be held at Chalk Farm, he said, "come along."

Q. Was that the first time you had conversed with him?

A. I had conversed with him several times.

Q. Did he know who you were?

A. I do not believe he did.

Q. He had no previous knowledge of you?

A. He had none of me, nor I of him.

Q. Had you any introduction to him?

A. None.

Q. You had no previous knowledge of him, nor he of you, no introduction to him, no common friend who told each that he might trust the other?

A. No, I do not recollect that ever such a conversation passed between me and any man in the world.

Q. But

Q. But all this that he said to you was voluntary?

A. What passed between him and me was in going to Chalk Farm, which was the first time in my life I ever spoke to him, it was voluntary.

Q. I think you say that at Chalk Farm there was a clamour that spies were there?

A. Certainly.

Q. And Mr. Thelwall was for admitting them all?

A. He was, and desired them to hear; and, I believe, I may add something further, now you have brought it to my recollection: he said, it would give the minister the power of judging of their proceedings and their numbers.

Q. You said so before—I believe you yourself made this cry against spies, did not you? you yourself said you thought there were spies among them?

A. O yes! I did say that, and thought myself very justifiable in so doing.

Q. Yes, yes, that was a scheme you had learned in your practice certainly, you were the person then who suggested that there were spies from the Treasury there?

A. No, I was not; there was a person present, I was asked if I knew him, I said, yes, I did.

Q. Did you say you knew him to be a spy?

A. I was asked who he was, and what he was, and I said, I did think he was a person employed by Government.

Q. Who was he?

A. His name was Walfh.

Q. And you seeing Mr. Walfh there, said, you thought he was a person employed by Government?

A. I was applied to by several to know whether it was not Mr. Walfh, I said, it was, and that I believed he had some employment about Government; and I believed Mr. Walfh did not wish to conceal it, for upon his buttons there was, I believe, the King and Constitution, so that he did not wish to conceal it.

